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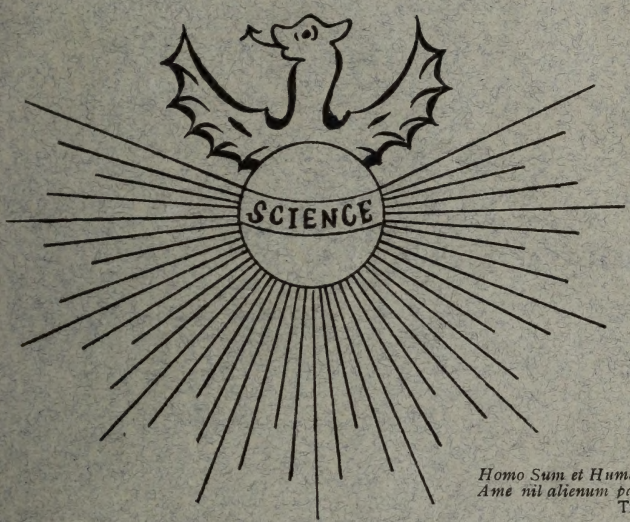
By Ch. GUEZOUNI.



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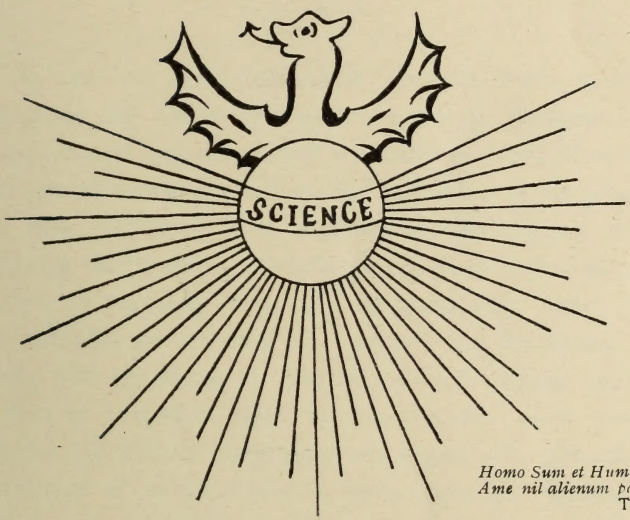

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Why! We deserve not to live under the sun, if we have not sense enough to stop wars

Page 58.

PREFACE.

To write a social-democratic political book, in which to explain the causes of the International European War to the present generation, and especially to social democracy and social-democratic thinkers and historians, is the principal idea with which we have undertaken this present work; analysing this problem of world-wide interest from the point of view of sociology and political philosophy, apart from any national partisanship and chauvinistic diplomacy, but merely with the ideals of scientific sociology, which, knowing no bias or prejudice, bases its observations upon justice, as far as the human intelligence can conceive it through the psychology of political affairs, which, however, confuse the public mind and seem so mysterious and complicated, but not beyond the limits of moral and liberal criticism, which any social democratic author feels it his duty to make, in the interests of humanity and fraternal civilization.

CH. GUEZOUNI.

London, *October*, 1914.

The Causes of the International European War.

THE deepest pain and sorrow which we, in common with every social-democratic thinker, have felt in our hearts is that this particular period in which we have lived upon this unhappy planet of ours should see the grief of the International European War and struggle of the nations, the greatest war the world has ever witnessed. Nay, the greatest savagery and *civilised* barbarism, without parallel in the history of the past, so far as mankind has recorded from the beginning of the life of the human race.

What a social and moral failure, that the civilised nations should become like barbaric tribes, fighting against each other, slaughtering and massacring human beings, millions over millions, devastating towns, burning villages, and destroying all that which belonged to art, culture and civilisation, annihilating with machine guns the youngest and best lives, masses over masses, upon the red battlefields in the name of patriotism, ridiculing all the laws of morality and civilisation, idealism and humanity, while human blood flowed and the rivers bore the corpses of the poor victims day and night.

The seas and oceans were patrolled by Dreadnoughts and submarines, torpedoes and cruisers, and fire spread from land to the sea, from sea to the air whence flying machines and airships threw dynamite, poison and bomb upon the peaceful citizens and peasantry, who knew nothing about the war, but who were forced to suffer through it.

The battles were terrible and cruel—upon the land, upon the seas, and in the air, where huge airships and Zeppelins, attacking each other, collapsed together to the ground like fiercely fighting dragons.

Death showed its face everywhere.

Vessels were sunk one after another, and the huge armies

became engaged in the most terrible and barbaric war, bringing the greatest misery and starvation to the world.

There was simply a terrorism throughout Europe, and no one could believe in the reality of such deliberate wilful murder, slaughter and savagery, such as no Alexander the Great, nor Julius Cæsar, nor Napoleon, nor Bismarck had seen in their lifetime, because modern armaments had so much advanced over the old, and the numbers of the armies fighting in the International War so vastly exceeded the numbers of the armies commanded by the celebrated generals of the world in the past.

Imagine eight nations of Europe, big and small, fighting against each other like revengeful tigers and lions, without mercy, without pity!

The cannonade and bombardment did not cease for weeks and weeks, and the struggle for life and death was carried out with the greatest ability and energy against the will and wish of the populace of Europe, especially of the social democracy, which faced the dread and misery of starvation and famine, sacrifice and martyrdom, as no generation has done in the history of the past.

International laws became abrogated and trodden under the feet of so-called "politics" and "diplomacy," and the ideals of peace and fraternity were made ridiculous at the hands of wild militarism! People regarded each other with alien feelings and uncivilised thoughts, without trust, sympathy or mercy. There was no sign of real humanity left, and justice, liberty and civilisation were disregarded as though worthless and unnecessary to human life and to nations.

The people stood by in dead silence, without the power of protest and rebellion against this cynical action by the *war parties* and *Governments* of Europe, which stone-heartedly led the nations into fire and bloodshed, murder and assassination.

The misery of European ignorance was marching to its catastrophe, and nobody could oppose it nor hinder it, and no one dare speak of peace and law, morality and humanity, but only of war and fire, cannons and barbarism, enmity and revenge, hate and patriotism, which made the whole world suffer heavily through the upheaval of economics, ethics and physics.

The madness of war spread like wildfire over practically the whole of Europe. Sentimentality, insanity, no thought nor

reasoning, but lunacy, which outraged the ideals of social democracy, and the ideals of fraternity and civilisation, under which one of the most intelligent and good-hearted men of Europe, Jean Jaurés, one of the first orators of the world in favour of International peace, fell a victim at the hands of human fanaticism, causing the loss of a great intellect and a great grief to the heart of the humanitarian and civilised class of Europe, a man who lived for the progress of democracy, but whose noble life was thus sacrificed to the cause of the peace propaganda and fraternity, and to the ideals of internationalism and social democracy, which simply mean the ideals of humanity, brotherhood and civilisation.

Some two years ago, when Europe witnessed the Balkano-Turkish war, and became aware of the barbarism and atrocities of those semi-civilised nations of the Near-East, the diplomacy of Europe criticised them very severely, but how can it account for the same barbarism and atrocities being committed on an equal scale and with the same cruelty and ferocity here in the centre of Europe, before our open eyes! This is the tragic part of the question!

Are we living still a life of romance or history that we shut our eyes and ears and will not realise the civilised barbarism of the world's most advanced nations, which have brought shame and disgrace to the history of this century, to the history of mankind, to the history of civilisation? Is it the glory of human nations to wash the Continent of Europe with human red tears poured from human hearts, more mercilessly than even past generations did? Where is our religion, morality and civilisation? Was it not the greatest insolence towards humanity, sociology and philosophy? Was it not merely a mockery to art, science and literature, or was it the real meaning of modern miscivilisation, which, so far from showing the least sign of justice and fraternity, merely qualifies the fallen state of human moral life?

How can it be analysed and what excuse made that the diplomacy of Europe let loose millions and millions of peaceful people against each other, to slaughter and massacre each other, without knowing for what reason or for what interest, and who is to be blamed? Is it the diplomacy or the people? History repeated itself in its all-painful and tragic aspects, but unfortunately this war was the worst in all history. Exactly 100 years after the battle of Waterloo the nations came forward once more to prove the uncivilised blood of the human

race in their veins, showing its superiority over the savagest animals in the task of brother-murder, by acting voluntarily and singing hymns and praying meanwhile on the name of the same God, religion and morality. What a ridicule of the ideals of the human mind, without comparison and parallel in its moral failure and misery.

And how hard is it to witness all this backwardness and unidealness of the human life, and to think one moment, that we, men, are really monsters! Does nobody's heart ever bleed for such colossal life-sacrifice for human greed and the thirsty passions of materialism? For if we examine the causes of wars, what do we find if not the bitter reality of the misery of human life, the irony of *materialism* which represents the root of ignorance and apathy?

But in fact we ought to be ashamed to call ourselves men, human beings, our life human, and our ridiculous miscivilisation real civilisation.

No, the facts are quite contrary, and we feel the more pain and chagrin because we, the modern generations, are much more sensible and feeling than our ancestors, and if we protest against the fallen state of humanity and immorality in life, it is because it is our first natural duty, according to the laws of evolution, and this is the only solace and consolation in our mortal life, proving the consciousness of our misery in ourselves, which in time will become our life and soul, to lead us to fight, not for the savage and merciless materialism, but for the peace of the world and the nations.

What is the direction of our modern civilisation, and what have we to be proud of in it? Have we any real proof of social and moral civilisation, and where is it? No, let us not deceive ourselves in our artificial thoughts, for we are far from the limits of true science and philosophy, and we have no heart for liberty, fraternity and justice, only murder and immorality, which make the human race unhappy and miserable. Are we the victims of our intelligence, or the martyrs of the ignorance of the tyrannical past?

If we examine and analyse the composition of human blood, what do we find in not a protoplasm full of the microbes of the diseases of slavery, vice, savagery and ignorance, inherited from the past generations, and growing in strength till we know and feel no humanity in ourselves but only hate against each other, so-called patriotism, unable to prove the real signs of refinement, nobility and the principles of social advance-

ment and internationalism. Yes, we are advanced, but not in the right way of civilisation, rather in the contrary, for while our science and civilisation are still in their infancy, our arts of manslaughter and bloodshed are so much advanced, so much progressed, that they have no comparison with the past, and we are proud of them, are we not? Calling them power, victory, glory, civilisation!

Now, let us be honest enough to recognise our misery and ignorance, and to confess that we have no true law, no religion, no justice, no liberty, and that we know nothing but a material interest, for which we strive, we sigh, we work and we fight, as the men did in the prehistoric and barbaric ages.

But what a wickedness and lunacy of the human mind, thrown by the hand of diplomacy in the face of sociology and philosophy, whose doctrine of peace and fraternity, not having found the least chance of realisation of the first principles of humanity and love, has no voice and no power in the matter of politics, in order to contrast and counterbalance them to save the human generation from the miseries of fires and battles, hunger and starvation, rivalry and fight, immorality and ignorance.

And yet it is sought to make the world believe that sociology has been a failure in its teachings in the world! Why?

No; the ideals of sociology never have failed, and never will, because right is right, and justice is justice, though the blind man cannot see it, and however fanatical the advocacy of the so-called anti-socialist party, which comes forward to wound the heart of every learned and intelligent man of this century whose ideal is peace and general brotherhood of mankind, we say such advocacy has no value at all in the balance of true criticism, because the diplomacy of every country in Europe is having its turn at present in misleading the nations against each other, striving to settle political complications and miscomprehensions by the power of rifles and guns, fires and bloodshed; but when the turn of the social democracy comes, then surely it will dazzle the eyes of the world with the power of that human intelligence, talent and reasoning which will act more powerfully and radically in the task of justice and morality than all the fires and bloodshed that have occurred from the past until the present.

We ask why the anti-socialist party, instead of acting in favour of the peace of the world, tried to pour oil upon the fires of politics?

Let us be sincere enough to think for one moment that it is the machine-like anti-socialist party that represents the real danger to the country, encouraging diplomacy to run to risks and ruin, and not the peaceful class of social democracy, whose whole aims are directed to the task of creating a reasonable and just understanding between the nations of Europe, in order to settle all political problems between the nations, not with murder and bloodshed, but with the power of love and humanity.

Why such miscomprehension in the minds of the different classes of people, and why such enormous misunderstanding about the principles of sociology and internationalism? Why do not people study and analyse the doctrine of social philosophy, not indulge in sharp criticism, with a flash of ignorance in the eyes, which proves not the perception, but the blindness of the mind?

And, if socialism has been a failure before the eyes of diplomacy, then is it not true that the same failure applies to religion, theology and God, in which they believe, and suppose to protect the causes of morality and humanity?

But no, there is nothing in the shape of failure in the ideals of peace and fraternity, liberty and internationalism, but, on the contrary, every war proves the right and reason of social democracy, and pushes the doctrine of the universal brotherhood forward in its slow, but sure way of advancement, by which the general peace of the world can be realised and guaranteed for the future.

We know, as the class of social democracy feels it, that we are no more than slaves to-day, having no voice or power in political matters, being led like a flock of sheep from misery to misery, from fire to fire, from starvation to starvation, from struggle to struggle, from fight to fight by the power of militarism and by the order of diplomacy, but we are glad that we are conscious of our misfortune, and we feel profoundly in ourselves the pains of the wounds of the human heart, and we know already that our faith of peace will be realised at last. We blame nobody for our fallen state in life at present, but ourselves, but the times only. But as soon as social democracy rises up and protests violently against the miseries of the world, then diplomacy will be shaken to its root and the ideals of war and battle must disappear from the horizon of the political world. Let the idea of general peace and fraternity come forward as the motto of true civilisation, to be declared

throughout the world as the principal law of humanity, by which all political injustice and mischievousness between the nations must be settled at the tribunal of international arbitration without the spilling of a single drop of human blood, but by human will and conscience, with the voice and consent of the people, triumphing over the old darkness and barbaric powers of fighting and lunacy.

We, the social democrats, are not cowards. We fight and we do our duty towards the nation in the task of the defence of our country, but we have the right to protest against these barbaric actions, for we know well that all political conflicts between the nations can be settled without passion and blood, but by the intelligence and talent of human mind and brain. This is the real idea, which should convince even every short-sighted person that political problems must be studied properly and profoundly, and be judged from the point of view of sociology, not diplomacy.

Diplomacy believes in direct action, which is to compel the desired result by the power of slaughter and cannons, but let us ask, honestly, is it the intelligence of human mind or brain, or wilful malice and ignorance ?

No. Sociology is far from such inhumane treatment. The idea of sociology is to deal justly and with the power of law in a peaceful and moral way. Analysing the causes of wars reasonably we come to the conclusion that it is quite possible to do so, and social democracy demands that the diplomacy of the world shall do so, and realise this greatest idea of humanity, which will establish the first practical and principal law of civilisation in life.

Let us study the political problems truly and in harmony with sociology, and let us ask first of all, is it difficult or impossible to hinder wars altogether in the horizon of the world ?

Of course, diplomacy may deny the acceptability of such a humanitarian idea, urging that wars always have been and always will be ; but sociology holds that wars are but universal disasters from which the world must be saved. And if we study the question physiologically we find that it is simply a matter of conviction and intelligence to see that justice can be done upon this planet without barbarism, but by the power of civilisation.

Let us first consider : What are the causes of wars generally. Are they religion, nationality, racial hate, monarchial interest, or what ?

Is it not true that the time of so-called monarchial, religious and racial wars has passed long ago, and that it is now only political differences between nations, factors of which do not represent monarchy, religious faith, racial hate or disagreeableness, but simply the rivalry of capitalism against foreign capitalism ? That is all. And this is the real matter, which in the hands of diplomacy causes erroneous and drastic action, leading the nations to fight for the supremacy and advantages of capitalism, simply for material interest, nothing more.

This is the sociological analysis of the matter ; not a mere hypothesis, but the political truth, for the closer we study sociological problems the closer we follow the causes of the wars and misery, so closely are they connected with the question of the so-called " social reforms " which alone can guarantee the desirable peace of the world.

Let us open our eyes and look upon life as it is in reality, not merely as we see it from our own point of view and con viction, but as the diplomat does.

We ask : What are the causes of modern wars generally if not the exigencies of political rivalry, which synchronises with capitalistic rivalry between the nations, the desire for the supremacy of wealth and the struggle for luxury ? For if man would be satisfied with the necessities of life then there would not be any discontent and fighting, but satisfaction and peace. But, unfortunately, the tendency of modern life is to push the race into this artificial and wrong way of life, and, therefore, there is no sign of satisfaction left on the horizon of the world, only dissatisfaction, discontent, rivalry and fighting, through which human life has become merely a punishment and a struggle for existence.

Let us examine : What was the cause of the international European war if not the rivalry of German capital against foreign capital, which on several occasions stirred up diplomacy and militarism in order to fight and to get some advantages for it in the direction of colonisation, for which the German political authority worked so zealously and ardently ? Is it true or not ?

And that Germany comes out as a victim in the hands of the capitalist party, which acts in harmony with diplomacy and royalty, is not a wonder nor miracle in the eyes of social democracy. The question is so simple that every student of social economics can comprehend and explain it without the slightest difficulty.

What was the cause of the Balkan-Turkish war and of the Italo-Tripolitan war if not the question of land-grabbing for the development ot the capitalism of the Balkan States and Italy ?

We ask : Who has benefited from those wars ?

We know the answer is " the nation." But who is it or what class is it that represents the nation ? Is it the social democracy that fights or the diplomacy that leads it to fight, acting in favour of the capitalist party ? For is it not a sociological fact that after the wars and fighting the position of the working class is never improved ? And how could it be possible while every victory of any nation means simply the victory of capitalism ? The opening of new works and the establishing of new factories mean more possessions and more profits, to the end that the position of capitalism progresses in wealth and property, while the position of social democracy remains at the same level, both politically and pecuniarily, and enters again on the same round of discontented life and labour, and on the same degree of misery, as it did before the war. And if you travel in the Balkans or in Italy and Tripoli, and study the position, you will witness this truth yourselves and come to the same conclusion as we have come to. Therefore let there be no more mystery nor any doubt left to the social democracy that the international European war was merely the outcome of the diplomacy of the German nation, which backs up capitalism because it is principally diplomacy that protects and leads capitalism, as it is this party that supports and keeps up diplomacy and militarism, otherwise diplomacy would not act for the benefit of the capitalist party any more than it would for the populace of the country or social democracy. But while the benefit or interest of capitalism is the benefit meanwhile of diplomacy, and they therefore both act in harmony with each other, hand in hand, and without regard to the ideals of social democracy, peace and civilisation become impossibilities ; there is no regard to fraternity, justice, morality, kindness and virtue, but only one thing— " material interest." Let us be just and honest for one moment to comprehend well the position that there is a very close understanding between diplomacy and capitalism. They always work for each other's interest, and if they do not fight they know how to force the people to fight, because they have the governing power in their hands, with which any rebellion by any humanitarian class is crushed down. The position is very clear. Diplomacy protects the interest of the capitalist

party with the sacrifice of the life of the democracy because it is supported and kept for it by the aristocracy or capitalism, which, without fighting, knows how to dominate the country economically. It is the iron hand which manages all the affairs of the country.

Let us not fall into any sociological errors as to this most vital problem by looking for the cause of wars as outside the conditions of life, or by representing the cause of wars as due to the will of any individual person or governing body, be it a Kaiser or Tzar, a President or King. Therefore, should we try to come to the conclusion that the cause of the international war was the will of the monarchs, as German diplomacy pretended to the Russian Tzar and as Russian diplomacy pretended to the German Emperor, we hurry to say that such analysis can have no real value in the scale of true criticism, because no individual can have the power in such a time and century, when the conditions of life dominate over the man, but not the man over the conditions of life. Therefore let us be candid enough to admit the cause of the international war to be the outcome of the conditions of modern life, which are wholly in the interests of modern capitalism.

Here is the root of the evil, which is not yet studied scientifically by the people. It is the claims and interests of capitalism that cause disharmony between the diplomacy of different nations.

In fact, democracy would be pleased if the direct causes of wars were the wills of individual persons, because it would be very easy to deal with them, as the anarchical parties would endeavour to hinder terrorism with terrorism in order to secure the peace of the world and banish resort to wars from the horizon of life ; but, unfortunately, the reality is quite contrary to it. So if we try to-day to abolish the palaces of our monarchs we shall not put an end to wars because wars never will cease by such treatment.

This is the fact which proves the invalidity of so-called anarchism ; and let us emphasize the truth that socialism is not anarchism, as the machine-like anti-socialist party endeavours to represent to the eyes of the public. No, the problem is quite different in reality and in the mind of the people ; and how dare anyone attack socialism without comprehending the meaning of it ! Socialism is not in favour of momentary actions, *death and resurrection*, but in favour of gradual and lasting evolution, in which human life shall advance with the

conditions of life, and only according to this law will man be able to attain mastery over the conditions of life in which he lives.

We know nobody likes war, we know every living person hates war, be he sovereign or diplomatist, soldier or general, workman or capitalist; but we know also that we are unable to stand against it, unable to hinder it, and we fight still involuntarily because we are obliged to do so by the conditions of life, because we cannot help it, because the conditions of life have driven us to it gradually without our will or consent, because we have no will or consent, but only the psychological compulsion of the conditions of life, which materialism or capitalism controls practically without law or mercy.

The cause of the evils and misery must be sought for outside the man and in the conditions of his life, not in the mind of the man. Is it not true that man, knowing the error, still commits it, whether willingly or unwillingly, because he is forced to it by the conditions of life under which he lives, as we, the human creatures, knowing it to be an error to fight and to kill each other, still continue to fight and kill each other—murder each other—against all humanitarian principle and motto? Are we savage animals? Or what is the reason? Is it the primitive instinct of the man himself or the outcome of the conditions of life under which man lives?

Here is the secret of so-called social, moral and scientific civilisation which is not revealed to mankind yet, which is not studied and put before the eyes of the generation, and whether we call ourselves ignorants, slaves, criminals, savages or uncivilised it is sociologically simply a term used to represent not the fallen state of the mind of the man himself, but the fallen state of the conditions of life, for human life is civilised enough to avoid wars and bloodshed, and human education and refinement are sufficient to let people shake each other's hand and stand as friends and brothers, and declare that permanent peace of the world so heartily desired.

Yes, the success of sociology would be perfect if the matter were analysed profoundly, in order to awaken the human race in the reality of life and to lead it in the right direction of research, looking for the causes of wars, miseries and moral failures, not inside the man, but outside of him, in the conditions of life and the living system by which he is dominated and mastered against his own will or wish, he being simply a machine, and acting against his own principle, without having any power of control over his life, and without the ability to

manage the affairs of a fraternal civilisation under which there would be no necessity to fight and struggle for life, but only peace and protection, with which only can he be happy, conditions of life essential to a desirable and happy state and a civilised state.

But how can man be helped and guided into the right way for the advancement of his life and in the task of obtaining mastery over the conditions of his life if not by that systematic revelation which means the revelation of the mind of the man himself, and which can be achieved only by that true and sociological development of his mind as to the problems of life and war? Peace and fraternity, rivalry and capitalism, each will lead him towards the solution of the social problems with which the question of universal peace is connected.

But sociological ideals are not yet comprehended by the vast majority of the people, and the causes of wars are not analysed scientifically in their minds and from the point of view of social philosophy, due to diplomacy imposing upon them blind conditions of life and domineering over their will and conscience, leading them towards fight and sacrifice, without knowing why, in what sense, in what reason and in what responsibility.

Is it not a sociological fact that the nations are led by the nose by diplomacy, which argues fighting to be the only way for the peace of the country, according to the laws of the country? But let us ask seriously what are these laws for the protection of the rights of the social democracy against such preposterous murder and crime. Is it not clear to the eyes of any business man that these laws are created practically for the protection of the rights and material interest of the diplomacy, aristocracy and capitalism first of all, rather than for any real protection of the right and justice of the country?

Let us be straightforward for one moment and ask: Why should the protection of any class not be ensured by law and justice and not by such colossal sacrifice and martyrdom of the people? Let us say that we have not the slightest enmity against any capitalist or diplomatic party, but that our duty is simply to show how wrong is the modern system of life, in which there are no social or moral laws in any country to protect the large mass of the people against the national disasters called wars.

It is the moral duty of every social-democratic author to analyse these vital, social-political affairs and to put them

plainly before the eyes of the people, because such a noble action only can be considered as true patriotism, as opposed to that political abuse by which the public mind is kept always in darkness and on the wrong track, and by which the people continue in fighting and ruination, without realisation of the idea of responsibility for such brother-murder and official-criminal affairs, which stand against all common law and reason.

And unfortunately man will continue still in the same wrong way of his miscivilisation and barbarism, because man does not know the cause of it, because the causes of wars are hidden from his eyes, because man is considered as a savage, brutal and uncivilised being by the anti-socialist parties, against the sound rights and reasons of science and philosophy.

No, let us be true for one moment to the science of life and nature, and comprehend well that man is not born a slave, but that the conditions of life make him so. Man himself is not brutal and savage, but the conditions of the living system oblige him to obey the established tyrannical powers of the country, not only the brutalising militarism, but also the killing capitalism.

This is the question to be analysed and settled in this century, and as long as this sociological-phychological problem is left in darkness and without scientific study and final solution, man will never be able to effectually protest against his fallen state of slavery and misery—that is, the fallen state and slavery of the condition of his life. But as soon as man becomes aware of the facts and realities, then will he be forced by himself to stand upon a powerful basis, and have the courage to face the demons of life and the living system, in order to deal with the social problems in a noble and humanitarian way, protecting the peace and rights of the nations in the bonds of law and civilisation, and with the power of justice and common will, but not in an aristocratic or capitalistic way of treatment, with the power of barbarism, brutality, sword and death, for if law and civilisation cannot guarantee the liberty and justice of the world, then positively the so-called military power never can and never will be able to do so, any more than it has been able to do either in the past centuries or in the present.

Let us open our eyes to the great failure of militarism and the barbaric forces of the world, under which Peace has been kept always groaning in agony at its own impotence.

No, peace cannot be kept under brute force, but under law and with the ideals of humanity and civilisation, for what is the fundamental condition of civilisation, if not law, if not the ideals of morality, fraternity and internationalism. Can we ignore it ?

Yes, it is long past the time of Hellenic and Roman era, when it was politically considered by the past generation that peace could be kept only under arms and armaments, as the old Latin proverb says : *Si pacem, para bellum*—that is, if you want peace, prepare for war, but such historic theories will not suit modern civilisation and new generations, which being advanced over the old, and having more nobility and evolution in its nerves and blood, is compelled by Nature to know and to feel that the value of law and civilisation is far better and far more reasonable than the powers of iron and sword, for under the old system wars never will cease, because they are connected with the conditions of life, which are so complicated, so wrongly evolved, that it will require the victory of the intelligence of the human brain to change that wrong direction, denouncing as null and void all the dogmatism of ancient and modern times about war and peace, law and life, which do not agree with science and philosophy, and which is expressed by one of the well-known proverbs of the old ages : *Silent leges inter arma*, of which the meaning is " The laws are silent amid arms and armament," as the old political world believed.

But no, the human race has courage enough to-day to protest and stand against such old laws and beliefs. For it is true that, not the laws, but the men themselves are silent and blind, not seeing the hour, being simply petrified against the ideals of humanity and morality, and having no ability or power of respecting, protecting and practising the laws, rather regarding them as silent and dead, their minds still hugging the old delusions about wars and peace.

Is it not the right and faith of civilisation to think that if the laws are silent and dead, what is the worth of living such a wondrous and unhappy life, slaughtering our own fellow creatures with our own hands, and calling it victory and triumph. Where is the victory or triumph of it ?

And what do all these wilful criminal affairs of the human race prove, if not simply the enormous misconceptions between the nations, which could be easily settled by the observance of the international laws. It is every man's duty to think and to work for the realisation of such a great philosophical idea about our own life. Otherwise nothing can be realised.

Let us not be disheartened by modern wars, because every one of them pushes the idea of peace and fraternity forward, until the time will be ready for the solution of the greatest problem of civilisation.

Yes, time is one of the factors which is connected with the conditions of life, and social democracy says that wars will cease some day upon this planet sooner or later, because it is only a question of time, and because in time man will know himself and his life truly, as sociology advocates it, and be able to deal with the conditions of his life consciously. Only it is the task of social-democratic propaganda to hasten the time, and bring the mass of people to move slowly but surely towards the final victory of peace and humanity.

It is in vain to say in modern times that nations hate each other, that monarchs hate each other, that diplomatists hate each other, therefore there will be no peace. There is no truth in such assertions, and let us realise seriously that it is a big social-moral error to represent man as enemy against man, as the anti-socialist campaign does. No man, no family, no nation, no populace, nor even capitalist or diplomatist, has any motive of hate, and each can live peacefully with the other if the conditions of life are peaceful and happy, for man is man, and human nature is the same in the human mind in general, according to the evolution of life and nature, in which the question of education even does not put any effective difference between the people, because ignorant people can be as good friends as intelligent ones, and in fact much better, because the modern system of materialistic education and artificial advancement brought simply sorrow and heartache to the man, simply pain and misery to the generation, but not happiness, because happiness as a phenomenon of life is connected with the conditions of life, therefore the only ground upon which the causes of war and peace meet is the condition of life which, by fair control, wise regulation, good management and just arrangement, can be made by the nations to create a desirable political harmony between each other, and so save the world from the chaos of misery.

Therefore, let us concern ourselves no more with the extraneous parts of politics, but try to penetrate the psychology of them, in which phases lie the mysterious complications between the nations, due to political intrigues and the materialistic character of modern life, which is represented by capitalism. Of course, if the doctrine of social democracy had been

studied by the populace of Europe, and the desired organisation were advanced and progressed in practical life, we should not to-day have the misfortune of facing such a great international struggle, the responsibility for which falls upon the shoulders of the diplomacy of Europe, principally German diplomacy, which insolently compels the nations to meet each other upon the battlefield to settle political questions with the power of fire and cannon ; but if the social democracy was in power, surely it would fight, not for the materialistic politics of the nation, but for the ideal peace of the world. And however much this humanitarian class tried to do its best, it has found it impossible to enter in favour of peace and fraternity.

Let us know first of all that the aim of social democracy in war affairs is not to weaken the fighting spirit of the nations, as the anti-socialist party cynically argues, but to try to make people think and reason before acting upon any momentary emotionary feelings, passions and impulses, which lead the human mind into darkness and confusion, because the human race is the most sentimental and emotional species in the whole of the animal kingdom. When the human mind is once excited it has no power of thinking, reasoning, comparison, judgment and justice left, but only dangerous and frenzied passions, under which man commits murder, barbarism, savagery and bloodshed, without knowing why and without knowing the cause of it. This is the psychology of man when he commits wilful crimes.

Let us realise that we, the human race, are still living in the age of emotions and passions, and not in the age of thought and reason, judgment and conscience, therefore our life and ideals are not managed or governed by the power of thought and reason, but by emotion and passions, under which we march in blindness to slaughter each other, as did the past generations, and as the future generations will do if the noble doctrine of social democracy does not come to help to alter the old systems of life, and to give the people a chance to think rather than to feel.

Of course, if any country is really in danger it must be protected by the life-sacrifice of the democracy, for really it is the democracy that represents the nation, not the diplomatic and capitalist parties, which are incapable of fighting, but which can easily cause conflicts between the nations and lead people to fight, thus endeavouring to show that fighting is the great want of the country and the only way of the protection of the peace and interests of the nation.

But social democracy says: While we fight we yet reflect and ask, Why do we fight; what is our advantage in the fight; and what benefit will there be for humanity in our fighting?—our victory and the so-called glory, which is won only by great sacrifices and martyrdom of the people and with enormous loss to economics; for if the expenses of the wars could be calculated, it would be found that war is the greatest social, political and economical mistake, both in loss of ready money and the destruction of the labour of the future, for with the wasted money not only could the poverty of the world be swept away, but the moral and physical fall of the human race be arrested and the degeneration of the generation be averted.

Is it not the greatest immorality, the greatest abuse and crime on the name of the civilisation to massacre and slaughter the finest, healthy, young and dear lives on the battlefield, but to let survive the old and diseased generation, decayed, in ill-health and unfit for labour and industry? This is the greatest tyranny and tragedy in human life, bringing the greatest pain to the human heart, and tears to the eyes of every intelligent man and woman, every father and mother, every wife and child. And if social democracy tried to show this evil before the war, it had its reason in the interest of humanity and civilisation. And who can blame it?

But as soon as diplomacy trampled over the ideals of social democracy, then the social democracy felt its duty to fight against the so-called enemy—men who are not enemies, but brethren in the eyes of life and nature, in the eyes of common law and civilisation, religion and philosophy, as sociology advocates and preaches in practical life.

But while social democracy took arms in hand to fight, it did not prove at all that the doctrine of social democracy was a failure in the eyes of the human generation, but, on the contrary, it only fulfilled its duty, as men and as citizens, for sociology puts a duty on every citizen to protect himself and his country, wherever he lives, against any tyrannical force or foe which comes to disturb his peace and to interfere with the rights and liberties of civilians. For is not Nature's first law the law of self-preservation, as it is the law of civilisation to fight against tyranny and to secure that peace and liberty under which only fraternity can advance?

What is the motto of Socialism it not peace, justice, liberty and fraternity, which never shows any weakness of the country, but on the contrary encourages every living person to fight for

them ; for, without we fight for justice, liberty and civilisation, there can be nothing left in the world but barbaric force and wild militarism, the fall of which can alone guarantee that peace and law under which the prosperity and economical development of the nations can march forward in the right and true way of evolution.

Let the position of social democracy be clear in the eyes of the populace and diplomacy be beyond criticism, and let everyone know first of all that the aim of social democracy is to respect the justice and liberty of every nation in the world and to guarantee the laws of peace and internationalism at any price—if to-day with fighting, to-morrow it will be *fighting against fight*, in order to be able to reach the goal of international agreement and international civilisation.

What is more patriotic than the feeling of internationalism, the feeling of law, justice and civilisation, the idea of peace, liberty and fraternity. Woe to those who try to upset the public mind and feelings on these vital social moral questions, but woe also to those who erroneously and murderously lead the people to feel and believe that hate, terrorism and barbarism between nations represent patriotism.

No ; nobody believes in such savage patriotism and nobody likes such brother-murder affairs, because it is against the evolution of human life and nature ; but while man makes war the armies fight against each other, and the slaughter is carried all along the ages ; it is because, not by the will of the people, but by the old systems of life in which the generations are born and kept by inheritance far from any humanitarian ideals ; otherwise, if there were not known to men such military organisations and systems of fighting, nobody would commit such criminal and immoral actions.

Let us recognise this social truth, that there is not the slightest hate, enmity, misfeeling or miscomprehension between the different peoples or social democracies that meet each other on the battlefield, but while they fight it is not by their own will or wish, but because they are forced to do so by the military power and the command of diplomacy, which is responsible for pushing the people or democracy to fight against its own principles, against all humanitarian and moral laws and principles. Why should we not fix the responsibility for wars on the governing body of every country, which means the diplomacy, but not the people. But how sad is the fact that the people always get blamed, and not diplomacy,

because diplomacy has the power in its hand, the militarism, which is always ready to massacre blindly even its own brothers and comrades in its own country if they do not obey the blind laws of the country, and refuse to kill human beings on the battlefield. Time only will settle the question.

Let diplomacy be fair. Before sending troops and battalions to fight, let it explain the cause of the fighting, and show for what right and for what reason they are pushed to such criminal extremes, because it is the duty of every man who goes to fight to know where he goes and why he goes. Why should the armies be kept in ignorance ?

If the question is the defence of the country, the protection of the law, liberty and justice, then the social democracy is ready to fight for it, but if it is only savage offensive, simply acts of robbery, murder, barbarism, the indulgence of savage passions of savage materialism, then the social democracy will have none of it, for it is far better to die in clean conscience than to face death with black face ; it is far better to be victims of civilisation than victims of barbarism.

This is characteristic of the doctrine of social democracy, and let it be clear to every party in the world—diplomatic and capitalist, royalist and militarist.

There is no longer darkness and ignorance on the subject but only misconception, and there is no question of the civilisation of man himself, but rather of the conditions of his life, because man himself is peaceful and happy when the conditions of his life are peaceful and happy, but man becomes brutal and terrible when the conditions of his life force him to be so.

This is the misfortune of the phenomenon of human life, on which diplomacy trades, as surely as did German diplomacy during the International European War, deceitfully sending the armies away with the idea of defensive action whereas it was insolently offensive. But had the German social democracy the power and knowledge of the deception practised upon it it would certainly have refused to march to the battlefield, preferring to face the enemy at home in his own country, and to smash for his country's good that power of diplomacy, royalty or militarism which has savagely tried to ruin the fatherland of Kepler, Lessing and Kant.

Why such colossal intrigues, abuse and deceit as to the political circumstances, and why such blind mismanagement of home affairs ? Let every soldier and general think one moment before he marches, and act, not as a human machine,

but with a grain of sense, thought and reason, before he dies upon the battlefield !

But psychology goes further than that, saying that if man had his own will he never would fight and engage in such barbaric affairs ; but while unfortunately there is no such thing as free will known to man and mankind, as science and metaphysics teach us, therefore man is but a poor victim of the circumstances of his life, and therefore the responsibility of all the criminal affairs of man, soldier or general, captain or admiral, lies upon the shoulders of diplomacy, and no one has the right to condemn man, because he has no free will, but only a psychic adaptability for harmonising himself with the surrounding conditions of life under which he lives.

Herein lies the first principle of sociology, and in this manner the fall ot the human race is explained and analysed, and here also the course of the evolution of the human mind as regards the social ideals and progress is shown. And the question is very simple to the human comprehension and very solaceful indeed, because it proves that all war affairs are managed by human hands, as is any ordinary business in life, kept up at the public expense and put under the control of diplomacy and militarism, which, so far as th equestion of the protection of the country is concerned, represents really and practically only the protecting organ of the capitalist party, for the social democracy has nothing to protect but an ideal of liberty and justice, for which it fights, therefore no longer stopping in darkness and in political mischief, but awakening for one moment the human sense and conscience, thought and intelligence. We must see where the causes of wars in reality lie. Every thinker, be he labourer or proletaire, aristocrat or democrat, must see that, while that question is so narrow and is limited to the materialistic affairs of the diplomatists and capitalists, it will be beyond human wisdom to limit war by any alteration or change in the systems of understanding and jurisdiction between the nations, the diplomats and the capitalists until the power of so-called international politics is governed by a code of morality, law and civilisation under which no human life must be sacrificed, no man sent to the battlefield, and no armies trained in the art of savagery and manslaughter. War must be kept out of it altogether and the intelligence of man left to deal with the problem in accordance with social-democratic ideas at an international law tribunal, by which all matters of politics and all quarrels between the capitalists must be settled, exactly as is done in the case of quarrels between individuals in the local courts.

Social democracy asks : Seeing that there are some laws by which justice is preserved, as much as possible, for the individual, why should not the world have some international laws by which justice may be secured for the nations, without going to such barbaric extremes as fighting and bloodshed ?

This is the guiding principle of social democracy, with which every living person under the sun will agree, and it is the idea of every intelligent thinker or philosopher, with whom social democracy stands on the side of justice, law, peace and fraternity, and endeavours to protect the rights of the people. Even without such clamour for war the life of the nations or social democracy is ever a silent war, a fight and struggle, a sacrifice and martyrdom under the heel of modern artificial and capitalistic civilisation, and under the burden of economical disadvantages—poverty, starvation, misery, disease, degradation and degeneration—which are but another kind of massacre and murder. Is it true or not ?

Can any politician or diplomatist show the slightest discontent and want of agreement between the publics or social democracies in different countries, and who can show any hate or enmity between the people of Germany and England, Germany and France, Germany and Russia ? No ! The whole of the mischief lies between the diplomacy of those countries, the result of the rivalry of capitalism against capitalism, art against art, industry against industry, entailing terrible economic competition and nothing else.

But while the question rests upon such an economical base, why should we still follow the old systems for the solution of conflicts between different parties, be they individuals or nations, instead of having the sense to come to a peaceful understanding ?

This is the demand of social democracy, which is working for it, and which will one day fight for it, if diplomacy will not give the desired satisfaction in favour of the peace of the world ; because man, having no free will but simply a capacity of creating harmony between himself and his life, will be obliged to bring some trouble in the world—rebellion and revolution—adding new miseries to the old ones, because in modern times man feels it his duty to work for peace, to fight for peace, but not to become the victims of the capitalist and the diplomatist.

It is only a matter for the intelligence of the nations and diplomacy to avoid any future revolt and bloodshed, granting

to the world the demanded international justice and the protection of the rights and liberty of every nation, with which to guarantee the peace and fraternity of the world against any tyranny.

Why are we still waiting, and for how long ?

And why do we not heed for one moment the protests of the poor conscript, dying in agony on the red battlefield, when he asks in his last moment of life what is his fault, and why he should be treated in such a murderous way ; why should he die without knowing the reason of it ? Let us awaken our conscience to hear every stone shouting to our face " Shame and disgrace ! " And do we think that the new generation will endure any longer such a terrible state of slavery and moral agony ?

During the past generations and until to-day diplomacy has sent the social democracy against each other to massacre and be massacred, becoming blind victims of blind economical conditions of life between the nations, in order to protect the materialistic or capitalistic interests of different parties. Let diplomacy no longer use the people as pawns in their political game, for some day this fighting body of the populace will get up and fight for its own rights and protection, for its own economical advantages and privileges.

We know diplomacy is silent, but we ask it to be earnest for one moment and think seriously about these matters of world-wide interest, for it is clear enough to see, from psychological observations, that the modern generation feels the necessity of revolt and trouble in its nerves and brain, for it has fresh blood in its heart to be stirred, new ideals of a new life and new civilisation.

Of course, if there were no other way of solving the problem, social democracy would have nothing to criticise, but while there is light and yet people still march in darkness through the labyrinths of political affairs, social democracy must protest against it, as is the natural duty of every human creature, for the goblet of human patience is filled to over-flowing, and it is impossible to stifle and silence the human conscience, which sees peaceful peoples, even friends and comrades, led against each other into the battlefield to slaughter each other by order under the blind and sordid economical conditions of life. Why ?

Let us take a large view of human life and realise that the times have changed, and we must ourselves change and our

lives with them, in order to be true to the evolution of human life, otherwise we shall suffer for our ignorance and involuntary malice.

Here is the question of the human will, wish or desire, which must be the wisdom of the man himself in harmonising himself with the conditions of life, time, nature and evolution, and which represents the psychological will, by which man can advance in life truly, recognising, feeling and knowing the new conditions and demands of the new life, and leading it intelligently into the path of success and happiness, according to the degree of advancement of human thoughts and ideals.

Let us no longer allow our minds to wander in dreams and delusions about the causes of our miseries and calamities, but look for them nowhere but in the economical conditions of life, as political matters represent the economical conditions of life, bearing the causes of the wars in their train, and, if we study the political slime of the international European war, we find this out very clearly; therefore, the social democracy holds diplomacy responsible, and not the populace, as the psychology of the German diplomacy itself proved, and against which the whole of the civilised world protests.

This is the reality, and this is the reason why our sympathy is with the German populace or democracy, which, unfortunately, became the victim of the policy of the Reichstag and dangerous Potsdam, in the hands of the Prussian military party and with the power of the guilty Germanophobia, which stood against the ideals of universal peace and internationalism.

Europe long ago saw the danger coming, because the tactics of German diplomacy had no peaceful character, but were always mysterious and antagonistic, bringing darkening clouds over Europe year after year, yet nobody could disperse them from the atmosphere, and although there have been vigorous efforts to alter the conditions it has been impossible, because matters had gone too far to be stopped, even as a train running too fast upon a wrong rail cannot be stopped until it is too late. And who is to be blamed for it—the train, which is full of people, or the rail, or the conductor?

Let us think one moment. Did ever the British public, or the French, or the Belgian, or the Russian people ask for war! Did even the German people ask for war?

Is it not a solid fact that all those war affairs were the result and outcome of the politics of the German politico-philosophical ideals, nursed in the hands of the pessimist pan-

Germanism, which after having led Europe to such a terrible pass still contends that the cause of the international European war was the racial hate between Teutons and Slavs? But social democracy protests against such childish explanations, because there is not the slightest ill-feeling between the Slav and Teuton populace or democracy, but only between the Governments and diplomacy, which agitate and irritate the peaceful populace against each other, causing them to become canine and savage, and to commit all sorts of atrocities and barbarism, as men did in the ante-historic ages. Why?

Why can we not be just for one moment and say: The country of Goethe and Schiller, Mozart and Wagner has no quarrel with the country of Tolstoy and Tchaikowsky, and from the Urals and Caucasus to Elba and the Rhine peace can be kept with the greatest ease if the Governments wished and tried to do so?

We know the political group of Potsdam had weaved a web in the hope of catching the other nations in it, but has, in fact, been caught in it itself.

The social democracy of Europe criticises the German policy severely, for there is no excuse in the history of Germany for having provoked such terrible affairs and bloodshed in this the twentieth century, before our own open eyes, and who is responsible for it? Is it the Kaiser only, or the whole of the diplomatic and military party of the German constitution, which, acting on behalf of the growing capitalist party during nearly half a century, planned and sketched this brother-murder war in the heart of Europe?

No doubt Germany will pay the penalty for it, and will never be happy unless she abandons such political humbug, otherwise people will realise the meaning of Republicanism, uniting all the German provinces around a fair and democratic political table, to guarantee the peace of the fatherland permanently.

Let us carefully study the political problems, but not abuse our intelligence by heeding the dogmatic statements of diplomacy or Governments, which act, not because the people will or wish, but because they themselves will and wish. If the people of Germany had its own will and wish it would not attempt to think of such political lunacy, for the meaning of land and country has no value nowadays, because the world is open to any man of any nationality and country, without distinction and consideration.

Can any German authority refute the statement that Germans have found the desired hospitality and protection in different nations all over the world? Why, the number of the German colony in London and in Paris alone represented more than a hundred thousand peaceful, quiet, well-educated and sociable people, who lived as happily as if they were in Germany, and if they had their own wish they would not dream of having such infraternal and savage affairs.

Here is the idea of sociology, by which the democracy is led towards the control of political affairs: to be able to control the economical conditions of life, but not try to deal with the economics without politics, because politics represents economics, because politics direct the economical affairs, and because politics and economics are so closely allied with each other that it is absolutely necessary to conquer one with the power of the other.

This is the direction of the evolution of the system of human life, which nobody can alter nor hinder, but obey it intelligently and wisely, because it will be beneficial to the man and his life, because it will be the will and wish of the man himself.

We go still further and say that it was only the materialistic character of the politicism of the German diplomacy and aristocracy that, for the economical advantages of the so-called Great Germany, came so violently and miscalculatedly upon the stage of the political world, and brought such a great sacrifice and unlimited misery to the children of the fatherland of Frederick the Great and William the First, who, with their lives and souls, built up such a splendid Empire, and elevated it to the highest rank of first-class nations, and caused its progress and advance in all directions of life, art, science and philosophy, to the admiration of the whole of the civilised world. And what more Germany could want than such a splendid position, by which, if peacefully managed, she would soon possess the finest industrial, commercial and economical position in Europe? But unfortunately, when insidious capitalism showed its face, everything went wrong, because materialism never can be a solace to any country, and however diplomacy tries to show to the world that it was the demand of the country to make such a war, on account of the increase of the population of Germany, such argument cannot have value, for internationalism is on its way of progress already, therefore the question of discontent and war lies not on the side of the populace, but merely on the side of capitalism, whose idea

is the getting of more land and colonies for the larger development of capitalism and larger profit, larger luxury.

Here is the real truth, which incontestably proves the whole case of social democracy, showing that the cause of the international war was merely the question of capitalism, for which the diplomacy and royalty worked hand in hand, and for which the populace became victimised, because, really and truly, what does it matter to the working class or labourer under what capital it works? It is enough to get fair treatment and justice. For which is the best? Is it foreign capital, that can offer more advantages, or the native one, that sweats the native people in their own homes and country?

Let us be fair, and study the political questions with the economical ones, side by side, to find out the causes of wars and to be able to comprehend the conditions of life in which democracy lives, because every problem in politics, being connected with economical ones, is directly connected with the social democracy, the laborious, active, industrious, fighting, but struggling party, through its unfortunate luck.

Germany did not need such a war, while she had a great necessity for peace for her social and economic development, which could only prosper on the powerful base of powerful politics. This is the real truth, because the real advancement of any country depends on the advancement of economics, with which politics can advance radically. On the contrary, when politics tries to advance by itself, without the harmony of economics, then it fails. Therefore Germany would be wise not to have concentrated all her attention on political matters, but on her economical power, in which lies the security of her empire.

We know the propaganda of pan-Germanism was long ago in motion and in rapid progress in the direction of the so-called Real-politics, and the idea of "Great Germany" was the motto of German philosophy, which could be realised in the economical advancement and development of the country, rather than by the cultivation of such a harsh and ironic politicism; but the diplomacy of modern Germany did not carry out such a serious plan as thoroughly as it was laid down, because diplomacy, under the influence of the Prussian sceptre and realm, and with the ambitious character of the Kaiser William the Second, led the political ideals to become like national ideals, and, being in entire accord with the ideals of the capitalist party, united all together in one direction, in one way, all

working together heart and soul for each other's interest, under the name of the nation and patriotism, and had decided, after so many years' study and preparations, to take direct measures for the realisation of the big ideals of Big Germany, without any regard to the ideals of the populace as social democracy. The scheme did not work out successfully, because it was not the absolute or fundamental demand of the conditions of the life of Germany. Germany had no necessity for war at any rate, and especially under such miscalculated conditions, proving the betrayal of the country to misery at the hands of diplomacy and royalty.

And while there is the shadow of great misfortune and moral failure, let every critic be serious, and hold not only the Kaiser responsible for it, but the whole of diplomacy, which proved itself incapable of holding the constitution powerfully in its hands, to lead political affairs in a peaceful and reasonable direction.

But why did such miscomprehensions and deep errors become degree by degree created and advanced in Germany and in Germanic life ? It was because the direction of the life, education, character and psychology of the population was strongly materialistic, simply capitalistic, in which the ideals of moral politicism could make little progress in favour of brotherhood and universal peace. There was, indeed, a Socialist campaign, but it had hardly any influence upon matters of politics, which were managed with all the zeal and enthusiasm of the Germanic materialistic ideals of the autocracy, about dominion, wealth, power, fame, &c., for which the larger part of the German philosophers and professors had worked through the cultivation of a materialistic literature, art, science, and through the cultivation of the public mind in an extremely national and selfish way of patriotism, by which the psychology of the nation differed with that of other nations on the Continent. And while the materialistic direction of the advancement of Germany led the people to a temporary progress, the extremity of it, especially in political matters, burst out vehemently at last, conveying to the public mind the gravity of the state to which the nation was being gradually driven, for if we study the whole of the aims of pan-Germanism we find the German nationalistic-materialistic policy lying very deep indeed in the question of becoming a world-power, by the establishment of a world-politicism—the motto of German political philosophy—which was evidenced

practically by all classes singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles"—"Germany, Germany above all the nations."

This was the outermost nationalist development of the Germanic soul and mind, factors of which were the family, schools, gymnasiums, real-schule and universities, which together worked hand in hand and built the German national character in the idea of a universal patriotism, with which Germany appeared in the centre of Europe, haughty, proud, overconfident, dissatisfied and discontented, bringing political disharmony in the concert of Europe at last.

Those are the principal characteristic conditions of the life and study of the politics of Germany, with which the atmosphere became cloudy, dark and ominous. It is human nature to be overjoyed with little advancements, and Germany was overjoyed with her victory over France in the Franco-Prussian war, and therefore the diplomacy of Germany became more dictatorial rather than exhibiting pacific efforts for the preservation of the peace of the world, as the whole of African affairs show. Morocco and Agadir, a plot of the imperialist-capitalist party, stirred up the populace of Germany against her neighbour States to such an extent that an international war was almost precipitated, and again during the Balkano-Turkish wars, Germanophile policy almost brought about the commencement of the international struggle and tragedy, but fortunately it was avoided by the diplomacy of Europe.

And what could social democracy do against the tyrannical developments of diplomacy and militarism, selfishly supported by the aristocracy and capitalism, however much it opposed the peaceful and fraternal ideals of the people, whose object was the advancement and progress of the social democracy itself, but which unfortunately had no power sufficient to enforce its wishes on the powers of diplomacy and militarism, and was, therefore, obliged to give way? Events show that the democracy of Germany had done its best to preserve peace and prevent the outbreak of war, but it had found it impossible, but instead social democracy had become involved in the quarrel, because the war took on an aspect of the defensive, especially in view of the invading power of semi-civilised Russia. Therefore no critic or historian may blame the social democracy, but rather the times and conditions, because let every one fully recognise that peace cannot be preserved by our pacific efforts, demonstrations, prayers and songs alone, but with the assistance of political power, enforced with political weapons.

It would be unjust for any party to attack the German social democracy, because it desired peace and worked for it as much as did the democracies of England, France, Russia, Belgium, &c.; but that the democracy of Europe was unable to prevent this international tragedy was because of the weakness and poor organisation of the democracy in every country, for if social democracy had had the desired powerful organisation, so as to have been able to resist the military and police power and bring about a revolution for peace in every country at the same time, then such united action would have altogether changed the direction of politics directly, either before or during the war, and compelled the diplomats in the different countries to come to a peaceful understanding between each other, just as do the social democracies in the ideals of fraternity and internationalism.

This is the direct means for preserving the peace of the world, and it has as much value as the indirect one, which aims at the gradual development of the affairs of the political machinery, so that the controlling power is placed in the hands of the social democracy.

Let us realise seriously that the ideals of social democracy are becoming universal and international, and that the sooner the populations of every country work in harmony with each other in the right way of movement and progress the sooner the questions of universal peace, neutrality and disarmament will be settled in favour, not only of the people or democracy, but of the whole of mankind, because wars are universal disasters to the whole world.

These are the principal objects of the social democracy of Europe as to international war and peace, and a typical analysis of German thought, psychology and character. Let us examine now what object the German diplomacy of the Reichstag had that it took arms against its neighbour States deliberately in a civilised time and century.

The whole of the arguments of German diplomacy in the hands of the world-famous pan-Germanism was that while all the other nations of Europe, and particularly France and England, already occupied the largest and finest colonies in all parts of the world, there was nothing left for Germany and German capitalism, and therefore a quarrel was ever looming over the horizon of Europe.

This was the fixed idea in the German mind in all classes, which explains why German diplomacy became disagreeable

in all political matters, and why the Concert of Europe was discarded and peace was kept to the accompaniment of arms and armaments. However much the civilised world tried to ensure the peace of Europe at the Hague Conference, and urged the reduction of arms and armaments, Germany unfortunately did not recognise officially such an international fraternal movement, but prepared herself silently for her political operations, causing all the other nations to increase their arms and armaments for their own preparation and protection.

This was the object of the political activity of Germany, by which she strove to become a world-power, working hard and secretly at her preparations, but meanwhile pretending to the world that she desired peace—that Germany had been a factor for the preservation of the peace of Europe. But such false statements do not deceive any intelligent person, because Germany has done practically nothing for the preservation of peace; and how could she while she had such materialistic ideals, and while she had already created her world-famous Triple Alliance, which was the only way of carrying out the tactics of Germanophobia, by uniting all the German-speaking race in accordance with national tendency, as regards wealth, colonies, dominions, &c., and in which she could succeed only by that military, naval and aerial power with which she appealed to the world with, at last, a commanding attitude, politically dictatorial, in the hope of obtaining a diplomatic leadership in the affairs of Europe, but through all of which the dreadful shadow of a tragic future was darkening wider and wider, and year after year the situation was becoming more unwieldy and dangerous?

The moment of a very dark political miscomprehension between the Great Powers of Europe had arrived, Great Britain having seriously realised the political error of the Parliament at Westminster during the last Franco-German war, by which France was left alone to be beaten, and by which the politics of Great Britain were silently beaten, and Germany henceforth became powerful and stood as a rival nation opposite. France and England together saw that it would be ridiculous and perilous to the politics of Great Britain to let Germany once more become victorious in the heart of Europe over any other nation, and especially over France, which, after a loss of milliards and the large provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, still had power and energy for her political advancement, and had established her alliances with Russia upon a powerful

basis, by which the balance of the power of Europe could be well guarded, especially with the assistance of the fine and splendid navy of Great Britain. Therefore, the political advantage of Great Britain lay in the realisation of the Entente Cordiale with France, which would mean in effect another triple alliance with Russia against the old Triple Alliance, able to hinder any political party playing for leadership in the political matters of Europe. If we go back to the last Berlin assembly we find that the leading part in the politics of Europe was held by Germany, practically in the hands of Count Bismarck, who opposed Lord Salisbury and Lord Beaconsfield, with the result that the peace of Europe was not assured permanently, but only temporarily, because the line of the European policy from that time has been to increase the disharmony of politics between the Great Powers, increasing the rivalry and marching to its catastrophe; because, with the contrasting and contradictory character of the politics of the Powers, the Berlin treaty was practically null and void, for the Powers generally, big or small, violated it without reserve. Provinces became annexed, princes were proclaimed kings, Christians were massacred by Turkey against the guarantee of Europe, &c.—all these things being unfortunately connected somehow with the politics of Great Germany, which in her rivalry had always one fixed object, which was to challenge the politics of Great Britain, as it had almost become a proverb in the German mouth to say: "Germany has only one rival, Great Britain."

What does it mean, if not the political and materialistic tendency of Germany to bring about the dismemberment of the British Empire, in the idea and belief that Great Britain, having already arrived at the limit of her dominion, must gradually come down, and that Germany would be her successor as a world-power, and be able to establish a Greater German Empire all over the world.

This was the dangerous idea of Germanophobia which led Germany to such terrible rivalry and conflict against Great Britain, and, in view of the Triple Entente, Germany's policy was to first of all conquer France and Russia, and then turn against Great Britain. The psychology of the political affairs shows, as British diplomacy has declared, that a war was seriously meditated in the mind of Germany against France and Russia, and caused the stress to become acuter and acuter year after year, eventually bringing about the great

disaster of a semi-international European war, as we prophesied unfortunately two years ago in a book entitled "The Puzzle of the International European War."

The politicians saw how cleverly German diplomacy had stirred up the feelings of the German populace—peasantry and military—against the Slavonic and Gallic races by the suggestion of a terrible danger to the fatherland from the savage and hateful races of Russia and France, and had encouraged Germanophobia in order to be successful in the coming political expedition, otherwise there was no excuse for arousing such hate and enmity between neighbouring States. Therefore, let no one represent the cause of the international war as the racial question, it was merely the political problems and rivalry between the nations—practically the six Great Powers of Europe, which lead and manage the political affairs of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Let us look upon the political aspect from the political point of view and comprehend that nations fight, not for the love or hate of each other, but for their own political interests. For instance, Russia did not fight Austria for love of Serbia or for hate of the German race, but for her political interests; for was it not the same Slavonic race (Bulgaria) which was practically abandoned by Russia to be victimised in the Balkan brother-murder war? Why did the so-called Russophobia keep silent in the one case and become so nervous in the other? Is it not a true analysis to say that the whole of the efforts of pan-Slavism was for the same capitalistic ideals as that of pan-Germanism, while they both claim to deal with the question of the partition of races? But social democracy opposes such baseless and untrue advocacy with the argument that Germanophobia and Russophobia really are but aristocratic and capitalistic organisations and movements, which, in the name of the nation and patriotism, brought such disaster to Europe at the hands of the opposing diplomacy and military power.

The tactics of both Germanophobia and Russophobia were very deep indeed, and they are both equally responsible to the civilised world. But Germany impatiently declared war first of all, therefore the scale of the balance weighs more heavily on her side, because the tactics of Slavophobia were defensive, whereas those of Germanophobia were offensive.

Let us go still further and comprehend well the political position—that if Germany became allied with Austria and

fought against Russia it was not for the love of Austria, but for her own political interests, for the question of Austria-Hungary itself had no value in the ideals of pan-Germanism and Greater Germany, of which Austria-Hungary became a catspaw, and what racial hate could there be between England and Germany, which are practically both of the same Anglo-Saxon race?

Let us be just and conclude that in the dictionary of politics there is only one word—material interest—for which the nations strive, fight and do all in their power, against any law, against any ideal, against all humanity. For instance, who would imagine for one moment that the highly civilised German nation would be so spiteful and disgraceful as to violate the international laws and treaties in an international war? Her acts of brutality shock the whole of the civilised world, and the shame which her diplomacy has brought on the history of Germany has no limit, and Europe will never forget Louvain as long as it exists. But who are the victims of such political immorality if not the poor unfortunate populace, which has not the slightest value before the eyes of diplomacy or Government, and is treated like dust? But if the populace had its proper voice and power in political matters and had a fair politicism instead of being led by the nose by a few groups of people, then such acts of brutality and barbarism would not happen nor any violation of the laws and treaties, and we should have a cleaner history of the human race.

It was clear that Germany was preparing herself for war, and however much effort there has been to bring her to a political harmony in Europe it has been impossible, because her political rivalry had a much deeper root than the politicians and statesmen admitted. This was the diplomatic leadership on account of her serious plans for the colonisation of the *Oriental countries.*

Here is the secret and the whole psychology of this sordid international European war, which touches the question of Asia-Minor, inside and outside the walls of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, with which is connected the question of the Mediterranean, the question of the Balkan Peninsula, Macedonia, Albania and the Adriatic.

The matter goes very deep indeed, and it dates back more than half a century, when Germany silently started to cultivate a political friendship with the Ottoman Empire.

The question of the Bagdad railway is well known, as well as

the famous voyage of the Emperor William, who himself professed a protectorship for the whole of the Mohammedan races, which really amounted to a challenge to the politics of Great Britain, with the object of spreading anti-British feelings amongst the Moslem races and fostering a revolt and rebellion against British commerce and dominion, in which object Germany has tried hard to be successful, but in vain.

Of course, it was a great political mistake for Turkey to cultivate a cool and callous policy with Great Britain and France, of which result was practically the annihilation of the Treaty of Berlin at the hands of Germany.

It is a political fact that the whole of the massacres in Macedonia and Armenia were the outcome of the silent rivalry of the politics of Germany against Great Britain.

Is it not an historical fact that although Great Britain sent her fleet towards the Dardanelles for the protection of those little Christian nations suffering under Turkish misrule, unhappily it has been impossible for her alone to fulfil the obligation of the Berlin Treaty, solemnly arranged at the Peace Conference of Berlin, with its generous promises in black and white. But while Great Britain was isolated by the other Powers, and Turkey found her desired political protector in Germany, no more European pressure could be brought to bear on Turkey to bring her to order, because Sultan Hamid would listen to no authority in Europe except the Emperor William, whom he regarded as his best friend, and to whom personally was granted the concession for the Bagdad railway.

Was it not through the Germanophile policy that Turkey became a political vassal to Germany, and brought limitless miseries to her own countries through her ignorance in not endorsing the general European policy of which the leadership was in the hands of her ancient friend Great Britain ?

Let us go still further. Was it not the same policy of clever Potsdam which indirectly caused the Turko-Balkan War, after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, and the proclamation of the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand as king without the consent of the will of political Europe.

There is no longer any doubt that it was simply through a panicmongering policy that Austria-Hungary started to move towards the near East, as it was almost an accepted policy in the politics of Berlin and Vienna to push the Dual-Monarchy towards the East under the ironic motto " *Drang nach oesten !* "

(Forward towards the east.) This course was faithfully followed by the Hapsburg house by the order of the Hohenzollern, in order to be closer and closer to Turkey and the Mediterranean, in pursuance of ideals, for which the Dual-Monarchy—without cultivating a distinct and peaceful policy of its own—simply became like a machine in the hands of Germanophobia, and stirred up the troubles in the Balkans which culminated at last in an international struggle and her ruin. Was it not the same mischievous policy that caused the Balkan brother-murder war and victimised Bulgaria ?

If we study carefully the politics of the Near East we must see that the little states were not ready for such a big operation against Turkey, but when Austria-Hungary brought forward the question of Albania they became nervous, because the annexation of Albania by Austria-Hungary would lead her towards the occupation of Macedonia, with its splendid harbour of Salonika, which could be made a very important naval base upon the coast of the Mediterranean, from the Ægean Sea to the Adriatic, with the strategic position of Valona and Durazzo. And what would such a powerful bit of the Dual Monarchy mean in the heart of the Balkans, if not to put in danger not only the vital interests of the little Balkan states, but also the political interests of the other great nations—England, France and Russia. Such a serious development would not only leave Russia for ever imprisoned in the Black Sea, but also the ports of Malta and Gibraltar would be less secure, because degree by degree the eastern gate of the Mediterranean Sea would pass into the power of the Germanic race, and what would be the end of such a political rivalry, if not a great danger, a great struggle, a great battle in the future, because little by little the Triple Alliance would gain a position to have equal power and equal dominion upon the Mediterranean, which would mean a permanent fight between the members of the Entente Cordiale and Germanophobia, and through which the position of all the nations in Europe would be seriously threatened. It is not a prophecy, but a mere political analysis, to assert that whoever rules over the Mediterranean practically rules over Europe, and, therefore, it would be the best policy of Europe to keep control over the Mediterranean Sea in harmony and co-operation of the nations connected with it. Therefore, the political interest of not only Russia, Roumania, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece, but also of Italy and Austria-Hungary would be in a harmonious action with the Powers of France and Great

Britain, but not with Germany, whose terrible ideals of world politics do not recognise any political harmony, but only discord and discontent, which are the dangerous characteristics of German diplomacy, which practically never does anything to promote or assist the peace of Europe.

This is why we long ago criticised the character of the old Triple Alliance, with its unnatural and undiplomatic basis, not judging from the point of view of racial difference, but from the point of view of real politics, because it is a sound fact that the interests of Italy and Austria-Hungary demand a co-operative action with the powers of France and Great Britain (who practically hold the key of the Mediterranean Sea) if they want that progress and success which can come only with harmony and peace, and not against the general will of Europe.

Some years ago we spoke about the disagreement or dissolution of the Triple Alliance, because only this could save Europe from an international conflict, and because it is no use to deal with war affairs in war times. They must be arranged and foreseen before war

Again, we cannot understand the uncertain politics of Austria-Hungary, who became a blind victim to the tactics of Germanophobia. Her only interest would be a friendship with Russia, France and England, because Austria-Hungary, having such a splendid position in the centre of Europe, with all the advantages of land and agriculture, has no need at all for any more land, with its attendant trouble.

It is a fair advocacy for Social Democracy to assert that the whole of Europe was challenged to political rivalry since the appearance of the old Triple Alliance in Europe. Let us hope that the error will be soon repealed in favour of the peace of Europe in a new grouping of the nations, which idea must make for peace and not war. The time of wars will have passed and the time of peace and peaceful advancement of the nations in life and in economies have arrived, and this will be a vast advance over the old system of life, which wrote human history with human blood.

Let us go still further. We venture even to say that Germany herself became a victim to the famous Triple Alliance, because the conditions of it were of a defensive character, whereas she took a violently offensive part. Why ?

Was it not political ignorance of Germany's part that, having such a huge nation upon her border as Russia, she endeavoured to cultivate a hostile policy against her, and

become the best friend of Austria-Hungary? What was her political interest with the latter? Would it not have been much better for a serious nation like Germany to have come to a closer understanding with the Powers of Great Britain, France and Russia for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, because even if Germany did want some more colonies she would have succeeded in her plans with the consent and co-operation of the Great Powers, but not with that of Austria-Hungary.

But such political wisdom had no value in the eyes of materialistic diplomacy and Germanophile propagandists—the followers of the iron man, Count Bismarck—who himself considered the idea of a Greater Germany, outside the Austrian and Eastern questions, rather dangerous—not worth even the life of a single German soldier. But only a materialistic mind could really understand the meaning of such politics, and analyse it from the point of view of a German born individual, who thinks of himself as a German first of all, then as a man, whereas the politics of opponent nations of Germany are to be a man first of all and a patriot afterwards.

Where are the ideals of a social-moral politician? No, it is impossible to think that the world can be happy with such petty national politics. On the contrary, a fair relation, with the ideals of justice and peace, can only dispel the bitterness between the nations and lead them to a civilised way of dealing with each other.

And is it possible to think that political affairs can be managed with scholarly wisdom and intelligence much better than with pure experience, which cannot be bought or learnt in books, but only in practical life? And what practical experience had the new German diplomatic and kaiserian group? Was it the experience of Nietzche, or Bernhardi and Treitschke?

Where is the idealism of Kant, Lessing and Schiller? And what a contrast between the ideals of Socialism and Militarism, which both progressed side by side in Germany! And in writing the history of the international brother-murder war let no author or historian make a mistake by dealing with one phase of the question only. It is absolutely necessary to distinguish the German democracy from the autocracy, to be able to find out the body responsible for the war, so as not to judge the guilty and innocent together.

It will be in vain for any German patriot, be he thinker or

professor, philosopher or author, to try to find German diplomacy innocent; in fact, the diplomacy of the Reichstag has no evidence to show that Germany was entitled to make war under the motto "*necessity*," and we claim that there was the greatest necessity for Germany to encourage cultured and friendly relations with Russia, France and England for her political interests, because she had no justification for thinking that she could carry out her political plans by means of a hostile policy.

Germany would have been wise if she had had a political understanding with Great Britain, if not with Russia and France, rather than treating England as an old country trembling like the Roman Empire in history. On the contrary, Germany should have been clever enough to have seen that Great Britain was well established and thoroughly experienced in political matters, and quite determined to keep her supremacy on sea at any price, because it was her only vital interest, embracing her liberty, her life and her existence.

It seems evident that Germany had not studied the politics of Great Britain well, for the facts show that the geographical position of that country is such as to enable her to rule over the seas with a powerful fleet, and to maintain the rôle of controller of the world's traffic and transport, commerce and politics, capital and power; without which she could not live, because she is born at sea and she dies at sea.

This is the natural and splendid position of Great Britain, by which she became a master power at sea, not only to protect her world-wide colonies and commerce, but also to work for the maintenance of the Peace of Europe as earnestly as it is possible, always counterbalancing the power of any nation which would try to dictate in Europe, be it *Napoleonism* or *Wilhelmism*.

Great Britain as a great sea power would not interfere much in the land power of the Continental nations, but when Germany, not being satisfied with her world-famous military power, attempted to obtain also sea power, she was playing with dangerous fire. Her efforts to set up as a rival to the British Navy, in the hope of becoming the first Lord of the Seas, compelled Great Britain to look seriously to the maintenance of her position at sea, because the possession of a sufficiently powerful fleet by any opponent nation would threaten the naval supremacy of Great Britain and make war imminent. If Germany had been satisfied with first-class land power and

second-class sea power then she would have secured the best friendship of Great Britain, with which she would have been always in a position to protect herself against the rapidly growing great Russian Empire, but instead she thrust herself absolutely into danger between the land and sea powers of her opponent nations.

But how could Germany have a such pacific philanthropy while she had her visions of the colonisation of the Eastern countries, the most dangerous scheme that was ever thought of since Peter the Great? Germany's political advisers should have looked at the question from the point of view of the other Great Powers, among which Russia comes next, as opponent to her, because, while Russia had practically abandoned the question of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, she would not permit, nevertheless, any other nation to approach it, particularly Germany, for to do so would be to expose the whole of the Balkans and the great Slavonic empire to a grave danger.

It is easy for the German professors and the inexperienced political war party to view such serious questions light-heartedly and to feed the propaganda of Germanophobia year after year with a materialistic devotion and an offensive patriotism, but the real seriousness of the question is seen in the other aspect of the problem, for if Germany had acted wisely Europe would not to-day have been faced by the international puzzle with its accompaniment of murder and assassination.

We go still further, and say that the best policy of Germany would have been to have cultivated a friendly policy with France. We have always criticised the many political theories which put the safety of the peace of Europe merely in the relations between Great Britain and Germany, but, in fact, it would be wise to regard it as equally safe in the relation between France and Germany. And let us state deliberately that if Germany and France were friends to-day we should not have had the spectre of international war in Europe, for the political indications of France were simply defensive, and for this the Franco-Russian alliance was concluded, but unfortunately, and wrongly, Germany took up an offensive rôle, causing the horizon of Europe to become misty and cloudy and heavy with rain.

We know there have been many efforts to cultivate good political relations between Great Britain and Germany, and some little steps were also taken for the *rapprochement* of France and Germany, but these have been futile, chiefly from

the materialistic character of Germanophobia, against which neither France nor England opposed Francophobia or Anglophobia, because they had both already passed the age of extreme patriotism, and saw the need for peace, whereas Germany, being like a newly-risen nation, became simply managed by the war party, which looked both upon England and France as inactive and tired nations and, remembering the past victory of 1870, came out with the clamours of war, without calculating under what altered circumstances the German army marched towards Paris.

Let us study the psychology of the nations to find out their character, with which is connected their life, their rivalry and their war affairs. More peaceful and more international as the French and English are—and in this the German Social Democrats agree with us, and any study of political philosophy will prove it—such a peaceful character did not at all mean that the French and English were weak and incapable for fighting, as a materialistic mind only would judge On the contrary, they would fight for the cause of Europe against Germany, even if they lost, because it would be honourable to any liberal thinking man to lose fighting, but not to let a dictatorial dominion arise over Europe, interfering with the liberty of the nations, negativing the new ideals of internationalism and fraternity of the new rising human generation, which works hard for its salvation from the materialistic slavery and tyrannical politics of modern times, of which one of the most vehement representatives is Germanophobia, which practically recognises nothing pacific, but encouraged merely a secret intricate diplomacy, which on several occasions endeavoured to provoke conflicts with France, but failed. As regards the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, Germany's best policy would have been full liberty to the people, without pressure and bitter treatment, which latter turned the heart of the people towards the country of the Republic in the hope of freedom from German rule, leaving the problem of war and peace between France and Germany unsettled, and the future always dark and dangerous.

The so-called social democratic policy was to have reduced both Alsace and Lorraine to a neutral state under the control of Europe, by which likelihood the war between France and Germany would have been banished from the horizon of Europe, and peace would be safer and more secure, but unhappily nothing could be realised under the dictatorial char-

acter of German diplomacy and Bismarckism; and nothing will be, as long as Germany is kept under the iron hand of the military party, which acts against the will and wish of the thinking liberal and humanitarian class of the country. But as soon as such a harsh military dictatorship has been smashed then Germany will see a new light and life, and will progress much better in the right way of civilisation; but while she is a victim to-day and stands convicted of military disgrace—and disastrous will be the criticism of the civilised world against her—let us see what the diplomacy of the Reichstag says as to its colossal political mistakes.

We know Germany as a clever nation, well educated, materialistic, philosophical, self-reliant, thoughtful, but rather artful and dictatorial, claiming seriously—as the diplomatic group argued—that all the other European nations have been jealous of her rapid advancement and progress, especially Great Britain and France, which both stood against her in political and commercial matters all over the world. Therefore, Germany became obliged to arm herself against them for the protection of her commercial and political interests on the one side, and on the other to protect her frontier before the invading steps of the Great Russian Empire, a rapidly growing nation, against whom peace could be kept by arms, not otherwise.

But such an argument, in fact, seems more ridiculous than serious. We could understand the cause of such hostility if the character of the German politics was purely defensive, but instead she became violently offensive, declaring war against Russia, meanwhile attacking France across the frontiers of Luxemburg and Belgium, against all the laws and treaties of international Europe, against even her own prestige and signature. Therefore, let German diplomacy be serious for one moment, and honestly see its errors, and not childishly try to appear innocent in the eyes of the civilised world and to the eyes of history. Is it possible to ridicule the truth?

We know that German diplomacy says necessity knows no law (*necessitas non habet legum*), but let us be civilised enough for one moment to think that if international laws and treaties cannot be esteemed and kept, when they are established and put down in black and white, what is the meaning of civilisation, and what is the meaning of humanity, justice, morality, science, progress, law? Shall we destroy to-day our civilisation and become again like savage tribes and live a life of barbarism, without

law, without ideas, without morality. If erroneously we commit immorality, it is not a morality to know it, to recognise it, to accept it, in order to avoid it in the future? Therefore, the humbug politics of German diplomacy under such an anarchical system of management cannot have the slightest value in the eyes of social democratic criticism, and, therefore, the responsibility for this international war lies upon the shoulders of German diplomacy, which claims that necessity knows no law. Let the Social Democracy of Germany convince and teach diplomacy that necessity does know law, but not so the blind war maker who does not see the law in his blind inclination towards a tyrannical system of political aggression.

Again, what value can there be in the statement that Germany was obliged to go to war with Russia in order to protect her ally? While it was within Germany's power to prevent the breach of the peace of Europe, why did she not do so, simply ordering or advising her ally Austria-Hungary to turn back, after showing her bad temper to Serbia? Not to agree with her to crush Serbia down without reflecting that by a harsh political action the balance of the power of Europe would be upset and international conflict be made inevitable.

But how could Great Britain—whose policy is to guard well the balance of power between the nations—agree to such a measure taken by the Germanic race? Germany ought to have known such details of the politics of the nations, and not have judged everything from her point of view of materialism.

Of course, the German political-philosophical party argued that Germany had no hostile politics against Great Britain, and had not dreamt of going to war with her, but it was she, whose jealousy had prepared her to crush down the German fleet, to which the diplomacy of Westminster answers that German hostility was concentrated against Great Britain principally in an indirect way, by trying to push herself between France and England, and establish on the coasts of Belgium and Holland another mastery over the Channel, right opposite the British fleet at the gates of the North Sea. What could the German attitude mean other than that she wished to attack France without approaching Belgium? And, besides, what would mean the weakening of France and Russia more than the opening of the door to a dictatorial dominion by Germany in Europe and the gradual downfall of Great Britain, through the upsetting of the balance of power in Europe? Therefore, how could it be

possible for Great Britain to have kept silence and neutrality in the question of the international war, without acting against her own interests, acting against the peace of Europe and neglecting her entente nations at a critical time? Nothing but the materialistic mind of Germany could have thought as possible such a criminal and murderous action, which would have had no excuse in the history of Europe and in the history of Great Britain. Therefore, it was the civilised duty of Great Britain to fight side by side with her allies against the rising tyranny, either to win or to lose in the fight to prove the right of civilisation towards civilisation.

Here, then, is the psychology of the politics of the international war that broke out so violently through the miscalculation of German diplomacy; a political phenomenon, connected with the question of the balance of power in Europe, because, with the weakening of Serbia, the Balkan Peninsula would, degree by degree, have been brought under the dominion of the German race, and the problem of the Mediterranean and Dardanelles would have been settled in favour of Germanophobia, on one hand; and on the other, with the weakening of France and Great Britain, Germany would rise as a new dictatorial power in Europe, and the task of civilisation would have been delayed by centuries, because what is the meaning of civilisation, if not law, liberty, justice, sociality, humanity, morality, &c., but not by a barbaric military system and war making, by which Germany showed her supremacy, and for which she had worked with heart and soul. Germany has done much for the cultivation of art, science, music and literature, but unfortunately her military barbarism smashed all her reputation, for which her social democracy must be revengeful, learning new lessons from the modern disasters and miseries, so as to be able to gain control over the dictatorial and tyrannical military power in the country, so that it obeys and respects the laws of civilisation and internationalism.

Here is the social-political moment of momentum, which represents the duty of Social Democracy in every country in regard to getting political power into its hands, to formulate a harmonious policy with each other, in which there will be no fear of upsetting the balance of power, until the time of a final disarmament comes, because the question of the balance of power is so difficult, so heavy and dangerous that it would be necessary for Germany to have held a political meeting composed of statesmen like Cicero and Gladstone, who knew what

politics and philosophy meant, and who knew how to distinguish ordinary war affairs from that of balance-war, but not men like the Kaiser and his patriotic group, whose experience does not go further than Potsdam, and whose Germanophile advocacy does not reach beyond the walls of Berlin and Vienna.

This is the criticism which English philosophers and professors would use against their German colleagues and friends, to show that the psychology of political matters is closely connected with the psychology of the nations and their life, education, advancement and civilisation.

How do political opinions differ one from another? The German public mind was nursed in a selfish, patriotic and materialistic direction, showing England's wealth and comfort, progress and colonisation as a political robbery, without seriously analysing the question that the progress of Germany, if she were well managed and directed in the way of an international advancement, would soon have made her pass over her neighbouring states, and guarantee the future of Europe in favour of her economical and political interests. Social Democracy is fair enough to recognise this truth, and while we do this reasonably we turn our sharp criticism against the political or official Germany, which, acting more passionately than thoughtfully, upset the tranquility of the country, and with it the tranquility of the whole of Europe.

Why, the diplomacy of Germany tried to show that all her tactics were directed against the tyrannical rise of Russia upon the eastern frontier of Europe and blamed the rest of the European nations, that held the side of Russia for letting Germany be victimised, whereas it would be the common interest of Europe to let Russia be crushed down, for which Germany worked with all her might.

But is it not a fact that Russia never did attempt to become dictator of Europe? She never will be able to do so; and if she tries in the future she must positively fall down at once, because Europe does not want any dictatorship in such a time and century, when Social Democracy is in the foreground of politics.

It is most encouraging to think that the modern Russian—the rabble class of democracy—will be wise and serious enough to hinder any dangerous steps of Russian diplomacy, because it will be the ruin and peril of the Empire, for in the psychology of the nations, as is clearly shown in history through all ages, it is always the weak nations that join hand

in hand to overthrow the big ones if they try to act unjustly. Therefore, the best policy for Russia must be to cultivate a civilised political relationship with the Powers of Europe. And why not ?

Why must we be so pessimistic and take the Russia of Turkestan and the Urals, and not the noble part of democracy and intelligence, which represents the fatherland of Tolstoy, Gorky and Turgenieff, whose ideals and civilisation can fairly be compared with the calculating brains of Germany.

Besides, is it not a political and economical fact that Russia never can be a danger to Europe, because she is not a capitalistic country, but agricultural; whereas Germany, being capitalistic, came out already to fight for her capitalism, because the Germano-European war was but a capitalistic war, preached by the bold mouths of Bernhardi and Treitschke, who also betrayed their country into misery ?

Is it not a clear fact that Russia did come forward to defend herself against Germany while the latter declared war on her; and is it not true that Russia practically prayed to Germany for peace, but that she refused it ?

Why must we ignore the facts ?

And where is the intelligence of the Germanophile philosophers who led the nation to such a conflict on the occasion of a trifle between Austria and Serbia—a political trifle—which could easily have been settled between them if only Germany had not refused the proposed international ambassadorial peace conference in London to which all the other Great Powers agreed ?

Who is the cause of the international war ?

Austria-Hungary claims that it is simply Serbia, because she assassinated the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand by political intrigue, the responsibility for which she did not admit.

But Serbia claims that she gave the desired satisfaction to the ultimatum of Austria-Hungary, and that she would not listen to it, because she was determined to come out with a barbaric force to deal with her, as master of the Balkans, to do whatever she liked, without the consent of Europe, as she did in the affairs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and especially Montenegro and Serbia, depriving them deliberately of the fruits of their victory in the Turko-Balkan War.

The diplomacy of the French Republic claims to have stood on the side of justice and civilisation, appealing to the world

to let the laws of peace and civilisation be respected, under which Austria-Hungary would never be allowed to crush Serbia, instead of demanding from political Europe the fixing of responsibility for the crime, which has not yet been proved officially to have been due to Serbian intricacy.

And what more pacific attitude could British diplomacy take, which until the last moment before the breaking out of the brother-murder war tried its utmost to prevent the war in favour of humanity, but found it impossible on account of German dictation, which deliberately refused to participate in any peace conference in London, but mobilised herself for war?

What was the public opinion of Great Britain as to the tortuous politics of Germany? It was this, that Germany having practically annuled the Berlin Treaty, as well as the London Treaty as to the Balkans, indirectly, by the hand of Turkey, practically disestablished the Union and Progress Committee in Macedonia, committed a miserable act by encouraging Turkey in her barbaric actions towards massacres of the unprotected Christian nations, working silently against British diplomacy during the South African War, trying to spread anti-British feelings amongst the Moslem races, by which a revolution in Egypt, Persia, Turkey and India could be stirred up against British politics, commerce and trade, encouraged the Irish trouble about the Home Rule Act, &c., and now imprudently dishonoured the Treaties of Belgium and Luxemburg, invading their countries and trying to attack France, even thinking to destroy the fleet of Great Britain by her Zeppelin airships. Therefore, the time had arrived to stop Germany at any price, not to allow her to go any further, to fight against her if she attempted to do so, or to keep peace if she agreed to be fair and reasonable, because it was not only the sword of William that could decide the peace, but also the navy of Nelson.

What did Social Democracy think about the international tragedies in such a time and century?

The Social Democracy of Europe seriously thought that Germany had become simply a victim to her passionate patriotism and to the blind politics of Austria-Hungary, because it was not at all worth while for a serious nation like Germany to go to war for her selfish ally over her affairs with Serbia, ae she was liable to stand alone. Before the breaking out of the war the diplomacy of Potsdam claimed that it knew nothing about the Austrian ultimatum given to

Serbia, therefore she could reasonably and politely have refused to stand at the back of the Dual Monarchy. And who would blame her for it ?

Is it not a political fact that if Germany had desired peace she could have had it ? The whole of the diplomatical relations show that Germany does not seem to have acted as straightforwardly as she herself erroneously thinks, and from her materialistic point of view, representing Russia as the cause of the whole of the trouble, insofar that Russia, while the Tsar was asking the Kaiser for peace, had ordered a partial mobilisation.

Of course, it was a great mistake on the part of Russian diplomacy that while the Tsar was asking the Kaiser for intervention in the interests of peace between Serbia and Austria, orders had meanwhile been given for the mobilisation of the army, an act which does not seem wise or diplomatic, because Russia could wait, but she did not; upon which Germany, and especially the Kaiser, became aggressive and irritated.

But, on the other hand, let us not forget that the Russian mobilisation could have only one real meaning in serious politics.

While Russia was very anxious for peace and the Tsar himself promised the Emperor William not to move his soldiers until peace was restored between Austria and Serbia, Germany unfortunately did not work for peace seriously, and while Russia was waiting to hear news of peace from Germany she received instead a declaration of war on her by Germany.

This is as the diplomacy of the Duma explained it, and there seems no mystery about the question, because Russia's action had been simply precautionary and defensive, owing to her slow mobilisation, while Germany had already silently mobilised. Besides, would even such an action necessarily mean that Russia was going to war ? Is it not diplomatical that even if she put her armies in motion she could recall them if Germany did not declare war on her ?

Why, then, did Germany declare war so quickly ? Was she afraid of Russia ? Never. If she desired peace she would first have agreed to the international peace conference in London ; secondly, even at the last moment she could have approached Great Britain to stop Russia, or she could even have arranged terms with Great Britain and France before entering the war with Russia. But she did nothing.

If Germany became aggressive through the Russian attitude she has made a great political mistake, due to her nervousness, as a result of inexperience and pride; but if Germany desired peace, but could not arrange it, then it shows a political ignorance, due to a terrible miscomprehension between the Great Powers, especially Russia and Germany. If not, then Germany knew what she was doing, and knew that she was setting out to smash all the other powers upon her boundary. Germany knew that she was already prepared, and acted deliberately, and therefore the responsibility for the International War belongs to Germany, and not to any other nation.

Here, then, is the psychology of the whole matter. Let the civilised world not be misled by wrong statements, because it is human nature that nobody likes to admit his error. It is simply honesty and virtue that compels one to confess an error and to avoid it in the future.

We know that truth is praised, but shunned everywhere. Now, in reply to the question whether it would have been possible to have localised the war between Serbia and Austria, it is impossible to say yes, because the question of the crushing down of Serbia by Austria was connected with the question of the balance of the Powers of Europe. Serbia is simply a victim to the politics of Germanophobia and Russophobia, just as Bulgaria was during the Balkan brother-murder war.

Likewise, it is not possible to think that Belgium could have kept herself out of the international struggle, from the unfortunate position of her country between Germany and France, and however much Germany promised ententes to Belgium, such promises cannot have any value in the eyes of politics, especially the real politics in which the German mind was trained, or to politics which recognised no law, no treaty, no humanity, as Germany showed to little Belgium, declaring war on her without motive. If Germany was honest she would not have violated Belgium territory, victimising such a splendid nation under her power, against the noble and unparalleled work and duty of self-defence, which Belgium showed to the civilised world, fighting against the tyrant of Europe, a task which is more gallant and valuable in the eyes of the democracy of the world than the whole of the murderous and atrocious victories of the German race, because the nobility of self-defence and the duty of the protection of right and justice brings honour to the history of mankind, and

dishonour and disgrace will unhappily go down to history as tyranny Germany's part in the struggle. This is the disastrous fate of small nations, who always get victimised and crushed between the big ones through the geographical bad position of their country. For instance, Macedonia, Bohemia, Poland and Armenia, who have already lost their independency, and Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria, Belgium and Switzerland, who are more in danger than Greece, Montenegro, Rumania, Holland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Here is the position of Social Democracy, which tries to realise the problem of the final neutrality of all the small nations in Europe, but this question is very difficult indeed, because international laws are not respected by the Great Powers, as Germany proved; and there is no authority or international power to enforce them. Therefore, the only policy of the little states must be an alliance with the big ones; for instance, Poland with Russia or Germany, Switzerland with France and Italy, Turkey with Great Britain and France, Belgium and Holland with Great Britain, and all the little Balkan states together with Russia, because peace can be kept much better in this way than with meaningless treaties; and while these ways are not radical, the Social Democracy of Europe claims the establishment of a general neutrality of the state of the Powers to be the best policy for the preservation of the peace of Europe in favour of humanity.

Would it have been possible to localise the war as between Russia and Austria? It would have been favourable to Europe as well as to Germany, because Germany had no direct interest in the affair, except that of the visionary big policy in the interests of Germanophobia. Therefore it would have been the wisest policy of the Reichstag not to have involved Germany in this lunatic war. Social Democracy stands against the war, and therefore Germany's inclination towards the calamity and the dragging of the nations into the peril has no excuse.

Would it have been possible to have kept France out of this international tragedy?

Of course, it could not be possible, and Germany knew it well; and however she tried to see France neutral, there was no guarantee of the security of France against the danger, because in the event of the fall of Russia before Germany and Austria, the indirect fall of France would be involved. There is no trust in political matters, and it is almost a European political proverb to say "Never trust German politics," as was

said about Hellenic politics in ancient times. There is the same materialism in politics, as was proved practically when Germany declared war against Russia and attacked France at the same time. Such a war without the interference of France would not be possible, as the psychology of Germany shows. Germany was determined to make war against Russia and France with her blind ally, because in this case the balance of power would be comparatively equal, and the victory would be to that party which was the quickest in the mobilisation and action, while practically the war would be decided upon land. Therefore German diplomacy thought that victory in such a semi-international European war would incline towards Germanophobia and crush Russophobia, on account of the quick mobilisation and discipline of the world-famous army of Germany.

As to whether it would have been possible for Great Britain to have kept out of this sordid war, let us be serious enough to say "No," judging from the point of view of Liberalism, not Toryism. This war, being a balance-war in Europe, the neutrality of Great Britain would have brought some future disasters to the Empire, because in the case of her neutrality the Germanic race would possibly have prevailed against Russia and France, without the assistance of Italy. As the first land Power and the second marine Power, Germany, having first weakened Russia and France, could then have challenged England in a masterly tone, and for political leadership, aiming at the downfall of the greatest world-wide Empire that history has ever witnessed.

Besides, what guarantee had Great Britain against the intrigues and attacks of Germany, both in the Colonies and Motherland? Nothing! while there was no alliance between Great Britain and Germany, and while there was nothing officially written in black and white. And even if there were such a treaty, what value would it have in the eyes of materialistic Germany? What value did the famous Berlin Treaty have, the root of all the political evils and intrigues, or what value did the Treaty of Luxemburg and Belgium have?

The meaning of wealth, power, colonies and dominions had made such a fixed impression upon the Germanic brain, and the political rivalry had became so extremely close to the heart of diplomacy that it had become impossible to secure the dominant position of Great Britain side by side with Germany. Therefore the best policy of Great Britain would be

to stand on the side of her entente nations, not forsake them —at any rate, under all the circumstances.

What the Tory and extremely pacific party of Great Britain advocated was, that while Germany was becoming so powerful and industrious it would be no use for Great Britain to have disagreed with her, but to let her become ever dominant in Europe, as long as Great Britain's interest was not in danger.

But such a view could not in fact have value, because by it no one could see the political results farther than his horizon; and in fact, such a narrow view represented the same materialistic tendency, as that of Germany, which was so dangerous and fatal to the British Empire. Therefore the Social Democracy of Great Britain, although hating the war altogether, was inclined towards Liberalism, but not extreme patriotism or materialism, because man, being humanitarian, must know first of all that humanity begins at home.

Let us realise deliberately that the sympathy of the Social Democracy of Europe was with Great Britain for her enormous efforts for the preservation of the peace of Europe and great sacrifice for the assurance of it, even to the extent of fighting, because the international war was a war for the peace of the whole of Europe, and because its victory would be the victory of the peace not only of Europe and Germany but also of the Near East and the Orient.

Let us be straightforward enough to recognise the truth, and let us not cultivate anarchic materialistic ideals under the name of Socialism, but carefully deal with the matters of sociology, whose motto is: "Fight for peace, fight for liberty, fight for justice." There is no man upon this planet who would dare to blame the Social Democracy of Great Britain, or Belgium, or France, or Russia, because they fought for the peace of Europe, because they played a defensive part before the rising dictator of Europe, because they were all obliged to fight in the interests of defence, even as the German Democracy, unfortunately deceived by tyrannical diplomacy, was led blindly to the battlefield, without knowing why? And who can blame it?

Any hard criticism of Social Democracy only exhibits the ignorance of the critic; therefore let us study and comprehend the aims of that moral, social and liberal polity, in which the Social Democracy of Europe believes.

We know nobody likes war, we know, indeed, that we all hate war, we know that every one tried to the best of his

power to hinder war, but it was found impossible, and while we have faced the danger, certainly we should fight against it, even to the curing of wrong by wrong.

We know fighting is against our principle, we know fighting is unnatural and inhuman, we know fighting is against the laws of nature, but we poor human creatures, instead of joining hand in hand to work for peace, view each other always through the sordid conditions of our modern system of life, by which we suffer, being incapable of creating a proper way of life, a noble way of living, instead of the modern law and degraded one, which presses us lower and lower every day, so that we suffer without knowing why, and we cry without knowing why, and we fight without knowing why, because we are simply the victims of the cynical politics of the world, the victims of the world's materialism or capitalism. And who are we to blame for our downfall ?

We do not want any anti-Socialistic taunts, because our hearts are too full of grief, because we feel our pains too profoundly, and are quite aware of our misfortune in life. We do not want any miscomprehension or misrepresentation of our social democratic ideals and doctrine of peace, by any party or profession. Our position is very clear and clean, for we fought against the would-be master of Europe, because Europe does not want any master, any dictatorial power; because it was clear, that under the extremely materialistic dominion of Germany Europe could not be happy, and the condition of Social Democracy would not improve, because in any German capitalist advancement in the heart of Europe our civilisation would be hampered and things would go from bad to worse. The lives of the working-classes would not alter, as the lives of the working classes in Germany are no more happy than ours, and the liberty of Social Democracy under German rule does not show any advancement upon ours in any part of Europe.

Therefore let our liberty not be taken from us, and let us seriously realise that the progress of justice and fraternity can only advance at the hands of liberty and in the ideals of civilisation; for what is civilisation without peace ? Therefore does not Social Democracy, fighting for peace, prove that it fights for civilisation ? Would it not be beneficial even to the German democracy if the Prussian autocracy and militarism should fall, and that noble and thinking Germany should fight once for all against that tyrannical power which dominates its home and country.

Now, after all, we ask: Where was German intelligence, political wisdom and diplomatic philosophy not to have avoided the colossal mistakes which are regarded as political ignorance? And why exists that ignorance?

The gist of the matter lies in the assumption of the neutrality of Great Britain, by which the balance of power would have been upset in favour of Germanophobia.

Had German diplomacy not made this mistake this international war would not have happened, under present circumstances and conditions at any rate, because Germany could not have been so imprudent as to have forced war had she realised the impossibility of British neutrality; and in the future war would be possibly avoided somehow.

It was no secret at all that Germany was preparing herself, was watching the Great Powers with the keenest interest, and was only waiting for an opportunity, an opportunity which she thought had arrived when just before the outbreak of the war Great Britain was very busy with her internal affairs regarding Home Rule and Ulster. France was also very busy with home affairs, as was Russia with the great strikes. Germany, therefore, thought that the time had arrived for her dreams to be realised, relying upon exaggerated reports of her organised world of spies, who practically sold Germany. But who is to be blamed for it, if not diplomacy, which day by day was becoming more nervous at seeing the growth of the power of Russia upon the boundary of the German Empire, and the rapid progress of Social Democracy in the country, which might soon be able to hinder Germany from going to any war, and so upset the whole of the plans of the Kaiser and Krupp?

Moreover, the Kaiser and his war-party, aided by the eloquent influence of Dr. von Bethmann Hallweg and Herr von Jagow, became impatient when the Powers of the Triple Entente inclined strongly towards peace, the Germanophile materialistic mind thinking erroneously that France and Russia hardly would be able to move against Germany, while Great Britain most possibly would accept her proposal of neutrality.

This is the psychology of the German political mistake showing entire miscomprehension of British policy by the German philosophical diplomacy, which after having been unable to secure French neutrality tried so cleverly to obtain that of Great Britain by some secret proposals as to the French colonial affairs. But Germany soon found herself very much disappointed in her confused and complicated policy.

British diplomacy proved its cleverness by coming out very honestly and clear handed in the matter. And if Britain was inclined towards the war it was simply through aversion to the German intrigues, with which the British public had no patience, intrigues which at last involved Great Britain in the great disaster and calamity. When Germany so brusquely violated the Treaty of Luxemburg and Belgium in the hope of dashing on and marching to Paris in three days, as she did in the past, and then turning against Russia, marching on Warsaw and Petrograd, smashing them all by her world-famous military power, thinking also to deal with Great Britain with her famous air-fleet, flying from Belgium over London.

Dreams, all dreams, but dreams which explain the materialistic tendency of the German mind and the inexperienced state of the politics of Potsdam, which so recklessly started a great conflagration, thinking only of victory and ignoring the fact that even victory is only gained by great loss, and without realising that war means a great risk, which she was taking, not only as regards great economical loss, stoppage of commerce and trade, not only devastation and ruination, not only hunger, starvation, panic and revolt, not only loss of immense numbers of lives, not only loss of reputation, name and fame, but also in the event of defeat the risk of having to pay a crushing indemnity, a burden which would press the people lower and lower into degradation and degeneration—a loss which would not be retrieved in decades, if even in centuries.

Had Germany considered this other aspect of the question and realised that dreams are not realities, then she would have been more cautious and sincere in political matters and have avoided the international misery which it was in her power to do. Germany's great political blunder was that she did not respect herself by respecting the treaty of Belgium, which would have secured Great Britain's neutrality, because Great Britain, having no direct interest in the matter, could then have possibly been kept out of it, insofar that the fall of Germany would not guarantee the peace of Europe, any more than her extreme power, but only an equilibrium of the powers, which would be realised by a political friendship between Germany and Great Britain, which would most probably have been able to create a general understanding between the six great Powers of Europe ; but, unfortunately, Germany did not see as far as that. Besides, if Germany were unable to deal with France through the French frontier, why did she come out boasting

with the clamours of war, knowing well that Great Britain surely would be involved in it voluntarily or involuntarily ?

Is it possible to regard treaties as scraps of paper, as German diplomacy so ridiculously did, and not realise that the question of Belgium was very closely connected with British political interests ? But, after all, does any one think for one moment that German diplomacy was so careless as to ignore the facts ? Never ! Every politician and statesman has reason enough to think that German diplomacy was quite aware of all the probabilities, and that it acted wrong, knowing quite well that it was wrong. And who is to be blamed for it ? Is it the diplomacy of Great Britain or France or Belgium or Russia, which thus became obliged to fight against Germany ? For there was no other way of dealing with Germany, as the idea of an International European Law Tribunal System to prevent wars as proposed to the political world of Europe by sociology had not been accepted and realised.

Had the people or Social Democracy in Germany had political power in its hands such mad offences against treaties, laws and civilisation would certainly not have occurred. Let us be just enough to admit that the German-European War was not for Germany a national war, but a political-party war, by which the populace of noble Germany were victimised at command of the war party in the hands of Prussian Militarism, strongly supported by the Capitalists, Anti-Socialists and a Civic Press campaign, which, with false news, excited the peaceful people and led them from misery to misery, from sacrifice to sacrifice.

Here is the great crime and betrayal of Germanophobia which led the land of Beethoven and Chopin into such barbaric affairs, and for which every intelligent person in Europe, every thinker and philosopher, every politician and professor, is very sorry indeed, as is the Social Democracy of Europe which holds German diplomacy responsible for it, protesting violently against such inhuman policy, which will find no excuse at the hands of the historians of Europe.

But what can wipe out such a heartache and disgrace from the history of noble and intelligent Germany if not a revolution —a social democratic revolution—which sooner or later must come in order to save the Fatherland of Bebel and Liebknicht from the tyrannical influence of the Prussian war party, and establish a new Constitution, based upon Liberalism and democratic ideals, under which all the little states will be united

together, and, with heart and soul for peace, will work for the reconstruction of the Empire, which was led to its downfall by the hand of tyranny. Yes, Germany needs a political reform, a new constitution in which every factor of the United Empire must have its own share in the power to deal with the political affairs of the Empire, so that the whole of the Empire will not be dominated and led by one factor, as Prussia was—a political treachery which brought such great misery to the Empire.

Why should the rights of the several states of Germany be trampled on, and the protection of the people entrusted to the hands of the diplomacy of Potsdam, which acts in favour of the Capitalist Party, and not of the populace or democracy? And why should the interests of the people be sacrificed to the interests of capitalists and diplomatists, holding, perchance, big shares in gun factories and war shipyards, and who egg on the domineering party towards war and force the hands of ministers, chancellors or kaisers, who may even have similar shares and interests themselves.

Let the rights of the people be protected equally with the rights of the capitalists, aristocrats, diplomatists and bankers, for if such simple justice cannot be done what prospect is there for the country, and what real advancement can be made? Because, without democratic justice any advancement resembles only the foams of the sea, or the beauties of the clouds at sunrise and sunset, which are not real and permanent but only temporary, as were the beauties of the German diplomatic and military party, whose heart-breaking atrocities proved the barbarism existing side by side with the civilisation of the country—a very sad page indeed in the history of the century and a great grief to the heart of Social Democracy and to every thinking body in Europe, putting Germany on a par with the uncivilised nations of Asia and Africa.

And where is our civilisation after all, we ask ourselves. Where are our laws of humanity and morality, and what excuse have we to put before the future generations?

Are we not compelled to turn at last to the ideals of humanity and Social Democracy, whose aim is the opposing of civilisation, to the barbarism of politics, shame, disgrace, dishonour and moral failure, which prove the views of philosophy and sociology to be right, as regards the causes of the wars, and the brutalities and atrocities, which are part and parcel of the barbaric systems of life, and the discontent, jealousy, injustice and military force to which man himself is a victim.

Therefore let us not be disheartened, for there is nothing to dishearten Social Democracy, but on the contrary, let every humanitarian and moral thinker have courage enough to uphold the ideals of Fraternity, Peace and Social Democracy, and try to show to the people which is best: love or hate, justice or tyranny, liberty or petty political affairs, nationalism or internationalism; which views represent the new demand of the new life and new century.

Let us look upon life not as man has done in the past but as man will do in the future, so as to be able to comprehend the disgust for the nations that fight, but admiration as well for their sacrifice, as showing the natural and powerful feeling of man towards right and justice, for which man fights, because in his belief he is always right, as his opponent thinks he also is. Therefore, the sociological analysis is this: that man individually is not responsible for his fighting, because he fights only to ensure his liberty and self-protection, the conditions of life compelling him to fight, as there is no other way to protect justice and right under the modern system of living.

How can we blame the man who fights, for fighting for the settlement of the political and economical quarrels between the nations is almost imperative under such a low state of life?

Here is the psychological aspect of the question, of which is born this social-moral problem: Is there no other way of solution of political quarrels between the nations, and is it not possible to stop wars altogether upon this unhappy planet?

Of course it is possible. If human intelligence will only study the subject scientifically and sociologically, and see that might is not right and fighting is not a divine or heavenly order, but the outcome of the conditions of life, simply a device for the protection of political rights between the nations, and therefore connected only with the material side of life, it can easily be managed by the intelligence of man himself, and by his metaphysical will. And why not?

Can human intelligence find no other way of settling quarrels between the nations but the modern barbaric one? And what is the meaning of the International Political Arbitration system, urged by the doctrines of sociology, if not the humanitarian and noble system of the administration of justice between the nations, by which war will totally cease and disappear from the sight of humanity, to the triumph of law and morality, philosophy and civilisation, under which arms and

armament will be abolished for ever, and the nations will enter on a new era of life and history.

Why should we still cry out in mercy? Why should we struggle for a mortal life such as this? Why should millions of dear lives be sacrificed for human materialistic passions? Why should the land be watered with human tears and blood? Why should the towns and villages be devastated? Why should armies be trained in the art of manslaughtering? Why such enormous expense and loss? Why should fathers and mothers be bereaved of their beloved ones? Why should wives and children be deprived of their bread-winners? Why should such misery and ignorance continue from generation to generation? Why! we ought not to be born at all to live in such limitless misery and inhumanity. We do not deserve to live under the sun if we have not sense enough to stop wars! Is this life or punishment? Is this Nature's will or that of man himself? Is it not Nature's will in man to protest and to fight against darkness and ignorance? And what does the doctrine of sociology stand for, if not the fight against darkness and ignorance to fight against fight?

Let us have courage enough to recognise the truth for the sake of truth, that if the proposed system of an International Law Court were realised to-day wars would cease to-day. Why should we not work for it? Is it still the time of party politics, and Anti-Socialism, or is it the time for a general Brotherhood, forgetting the past and working hand in hand for the realisation of the ideals of Social Democracy and Internationalism?

Let every individual person put his hand upon his heart and realise that justice can be done by civilised methods, and not by fighting and bloodshed. Where is the need of arms and armaments which lead the peoples of Europe to economical decay and moral failure, misery, vice and degeneration?

What is the matter with our times and century! Are we too ignorant or too weak to deal with the problems of social reform which lie at the root of our civilisation and advancement? Are we too cowardly or too much occupied, or is the time too soon yet? No; let us be honest enough to say: We have no heart, no feeling, no vitality in our veins towards the true evolution of our life. Are we slaves or victims to our present civilisation? And where is our real advance over the men who lived in the ages of Babylon, Assyria and Egypt?

No; we cannot longer continue in such a low degree of life

and civilisation, but sooner or later must be compelled by Nature herself to revolt against ourselves and our ignorance and to fight for the ideals of Humanity and Peace, for without fighting there will be no peace in the world. But, while we fight to-day for the temporary peace of the world, let us not forget our moral duty towards the final fight, which will bring the final peace of the world the final victory for Humanity. Yes, this is the essence of sociology which represents the ideals of Peace and Fraternity, the ideals of Liberty and Internationalism, which will conquer the ignorance of the world at last, because this is the direction of the law of evolution of human life. Let us have energy to follow it and to guide our civilisation in the right way of its advancement towards the golden age of mankind, in which men will know nothing of enmity, hate, war, but only Peace and Fraternity, the real signs of real civilisation which must come after all, as the sun shines in the bright and beautiful morning after the weary and dark night, bringing new light, new breath and new life to the world.

Let us awaken once for all and fight once for all. Let us realise that the time has now arrived to shout to the face of the political world before we die : Down with Criminal and Murderous Politics, down with Kaiserism and Militarism; lift up the ideals of Peace and Humanity, lift up the ideals of Civilisation and Internationalism.

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